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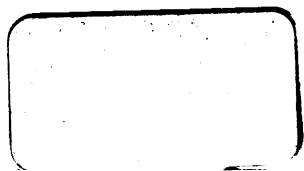
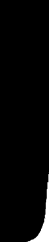
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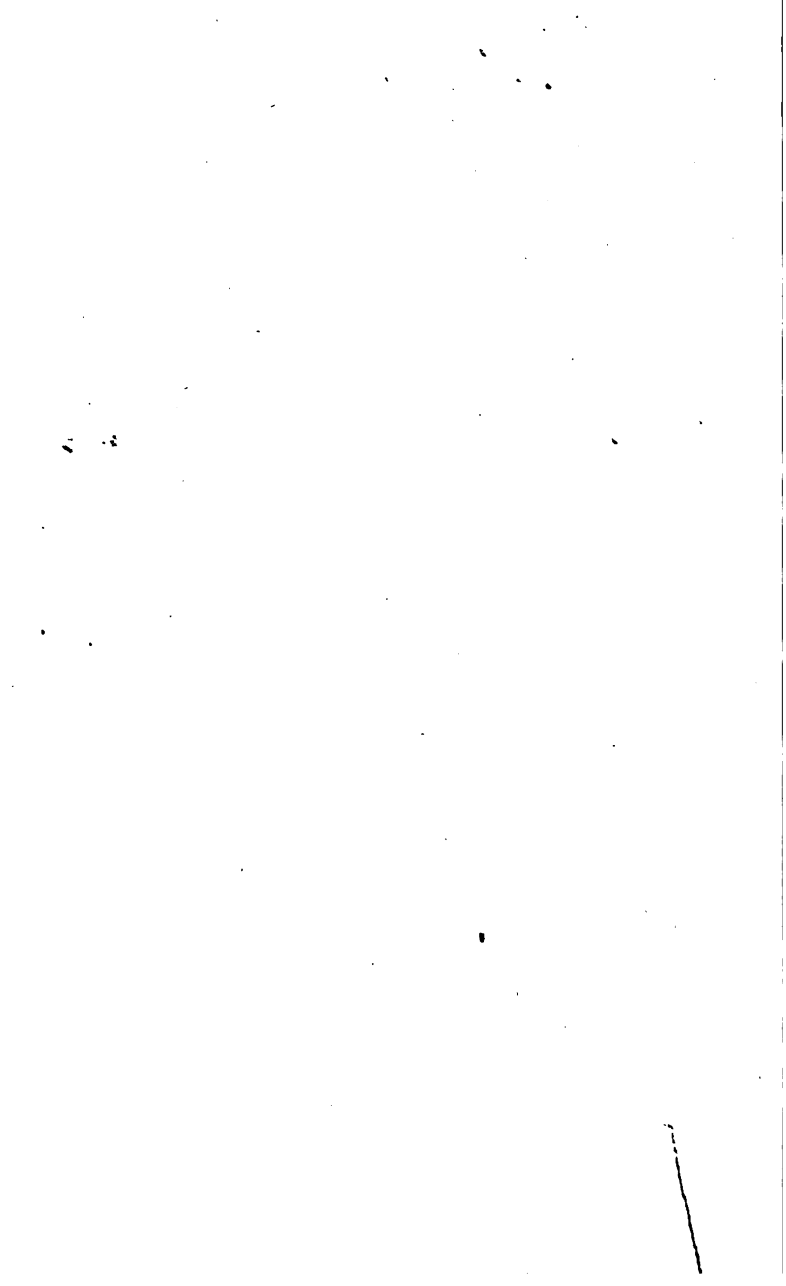
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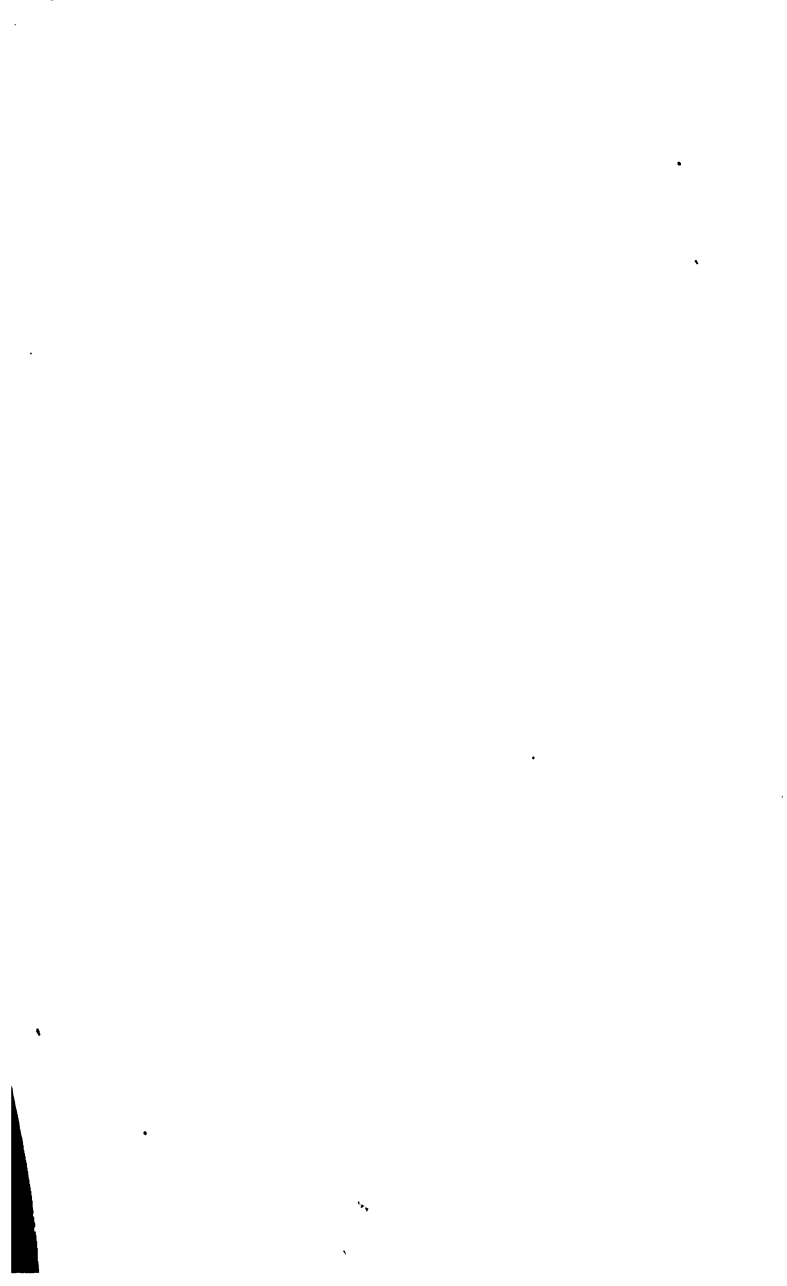
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**THE HUGUENOTS**  
**IN**  
**FRANCE AND AMERICA.**  
**VOL. II.**



THE  
HUGUENOTS  
IN  
FRANCE AND AMERICA.

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BY THE AUTHOR OF "THREE EXPERIMENTS OF LIVING,"  
"LIFE AND TIMES OF MARTIN LUTHER," "LIFE  
AND TIMES OF THOMAS CRANMER," ETC.

---

"One look, one last look,  
To the cots and the towers,  
To the rows of our vines,  
And the beds of our flowers;  
To the church where the bones  
Of our fathers decayed,  
Where we fondly had deemed  
Our own should be laid.

"Farewell, and for ever!  
The priest and the slave  
May rule in the halls  
Of the free and the brave.  
Our homes we abandon,  
Our lands we resign;  
But, Father, we kneel  
To no altar but thine."

REARVIEW'S "Mencontour."

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

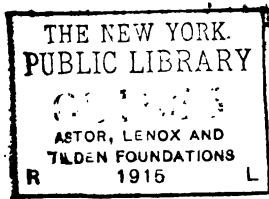
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# THE HUGUENOTS

IN

## FRANCE AND AMERICA.

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### CHAPTER XXV.

#### REGENCY OF MARY DE MEDICIS.—SULLY RETIRES FROM THE MINISTRY.

IMMEDIATELY after the King's death was known, the Parliament proceeded to appoint the Queen-mother regent, and the morning after the assassination was fixed on for this ceremony. The young King, then nine years old, was to be present. Sully, the faithful friend and minister of the late King, was also summoned to attend. He says, "I made every excuse I could think of to avoid it ; the sound of the drums and musical instruments giving new force to my grief, and judging that a face bathed with tears could ill suit the scene." An exterior of mourning was preserved in the public apartments of the Louvre. The ceilings and walls were hung with black, and all the furniture and carpets were covered with it ; emblems of death, and of Catholic devotion, met the eye everywhere, and the once gay and splendid palace looked like the dismal abode of grief and

desolation. Yet there were apartments of gold, purple, embroidery, and the most sumptuous furniture, under the same roof, where gayety and mirth resounded, where luxurious viands were served and sparkling goblets emptied; where beautiful women assembled, and female voices mingled with songs of gladness and bursts of laughter. Here Mary de Medicis held her Court, surrounded by her Italian parasites, and almost ludicrously blended her grief for Henry's death with the exhilarating prospect of her regency. Her mind was formed on a small scale, naturally jealous and suspicious. Concini and his wife had kept her temper in a ferment during her husband's life. It was not difficult now to influence her to their measures, while they made her believe they were guided by hers. The destruction or expulsion of the Protestants was an early project. Though the Queen had, at first, treated Sully with distinction, it could hardly be supposed, that a Protestant minister of state would be suffered to continue in his high office, and he seems to have prepared his mind at once for a change of measures. "We are going," said he to his wife, Madame de Sully, "to fall under the yoke of Spain and the Jesuits; all true Protestants must look well to their safety." He disdained the methods of preserving the Queen's favor, adopted by many, that of paying

court to the Concinis ; on the contrary, he determined to withdraw.

The Prince of Condé, on hearing the news of the King's death, hastened back to France, hoping to meet with a warm reception from Mary de Medicis, who had been instrumental in advising to his flight with his Princess. Uniting together, at the time, in the same interests, he presumed upon a most gracious welcome. But the same motives no longer actuated the Queen ; the great actor was withdrawn ; and, fearful of Condé's pretensions as first Prince of the blood, especially as he entered Paris with a large escort, she gave him a cold and formal reception, and he quitted the Louvre in disgust. The Duke de Bouillon seized this opportunity to influence his mind against the regency, advising him to get the power into his own hands, leaving to Mary nothing but the name. Sully, always true to what he believed the interest of France and of the King, in vain exerted every argument to persuade him to reject such pernicious counsels. The opposite advice prevailed ; and Condé grew suspicious of the Duke of Sully, and entered into a cabal formed to remove him from his office as prime minister, which he had so long held under Henry the Fourth. The Count de Soissons, who had never forgotten or forgiven the part Sully acted between himself and the Princess Catharine, readily joined

the party against him. Sully, fully comprehending that his dismissal was projected, anticipated the measure, and retired from Court, against the apparent wishes of the Queen Regent, who presented him with an augmentation of his pension. From this time, the counsellor of state, and faithful friend and adviser of the King of Navarre, lived privately on his vast revenues. The honest and open manner in which he accounts for his wealth, ought to remove all imputation upon his integrity ; while it may be fairly admitted that he pursued his own interest as well as that of the nation. It is from Sully alone that we have the explanation of the great plan, which Henry was projecting when he was so suddenly arrested in the midst of his projects. In the Supplement to Sully's Memoirs it may be found, and therefore a slight mention is sufficient. It was the general peace of Europe, formed upon a lasting and unalterable basis, that he was earnest to effect. In our day this great scheme ought not to seem so chimerical as in that period of tumult. Henry anticipated what sages, divines, and emperors have since labored to promote ; — what one man,\* from an obscure village in New England, not only projected, but promulgated, in these enlightened days, till the cry of *peace*, not

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\* Noah Worcester.

*war*, reached the throne of Russia. It is remarkable, that the plan, or even the conception, of universal peace, should have been first formed by the most skilful warrior of the age. Even allowing that Henry's plan of universal and perpetual peace was chimerical, there is something morally great and sublime in his conception of such an idea. Elizabeth of England seems to have fully met his views, and, but for her death, would have coöperated with him. "I remember," says Sully, "the first time the King spoke to me of a political system, by which all Europe might be regulated and governed as one family; I scarcely paid any attention to it, imagining that he meant no more by it than merely to amuse himself." That he afterwards adopted the project, and believed in the possibility of it, he frankly confesses. Henry himself calls the thought "*divine*, not human," and confidently asserted, that the "undertaking would be crowned by the *divine* blessing." Though both Henry and Elizabeth agreed in wishing that it might be accomplished by other means than arms, yet they both seem to have considered *war* as a necessary preliminary, or, in other words, humbling the house of Austria. Sully was Henry's ambassador to Elizabeth on this subject, and his negotiation was crowned with success. But an invincible conqueror, *Death*, robbed Henry of his illustrious ally, and he was

left to execute the vast scheme alone. Elizabeth's death took place soon after Sully's return. That he contemplated it for the good of the human race, it is hardly possible to deny. "His designs were not inspired by a mean and despicable ambition, nor guided by base and partial interests. To render Europe happy for ever was his desire, and he felt for France as a father feels for his family. This it was that made him deserving the title of *Great*."

We think those, who are members of "Peace Societies," will be curious to study out the plan of the royal pioneer.

Sully, in his retirement, lived in a degree of elegance unusual for a private gentleman. The customs of subordination between children and parents are striking. He and his wife were seated in arm-chairs at the head and foot of the table; his children, though full grown, had benches, and were not permitted to sit unless commanded to do so. Sully always wore a large gold medal (which had, in relieve, the figure of Henry the Fourth) hung round his neck by a chain of gold and diamonds. He often took it from his bosom, contemplated it, and kissed it with reverence and affection. Never had a king a more devoted friend and servant; and, perhaps, never a nation a more skilful and faithful financier.

We have not entered into the polemical dis-

putes between the Reformers and Catholics, any further than to connect the chain of history. Volumes have been written on the subject, and those, who are interested in the "Dispute concerning Antichrist," may find it fully recorded elsewhere. An unsuccessful effort had been made by Henry, during his life, for a general union of religious opinions, but his clear mind saw the impossibility, and relinquished it without any resentment towards the Huguenots. We have some mortifying records of the contracted views of this people at that time. They instituted a strict examination of all candidates for orders, and reprobated those who discovered a taste for general science. The Synods declared, that a watchful eye must be preserved over those who "studied *chemistry*," and they must be "grievously reprov'd and censured." At the same time permission was given, in a more generous spirit, to invalid soldiers, to bear the cross on their cloaks if they received pensions from the royal bounty. The restrictions of the Synod over *widows* seems to be liberally set aside for *widowers*, permitting the last to marry at the time which suited their own judgment and that of the consistory to which they belonged.

We now return from this digression to the Regency of Mary de Medicis. Concini, who had occasioned so much unhappiness to the King,



was admitted to the council of state about two months after his death. It had been the great system of Henry to protect Germany from the encroachments of Austria, and to repulse the insidious advances of Spain. We now behold the system of politics changed, and an alliance sought with Spain with as much eagerness as Henry repelled it.

The Protestants read, in this change of measures, the most melancholy auguries for their own cause, and immediately began to hold secret conferences, and choose chiefs to maintain their rights. Thus the suspicion and enmity, which had been laid asleep, was roused on both sides. Again civil commotions began. The Duke de Rohan, one of the most enlightened and virtuous men of his time, favored the Protestants, and the Prince of Condé consented to become their head. The influence of his name inspired this persevering race with courage and enthusiasm, and seemed to give legitimacy to their cause. Influenced by his example, many abandoned the Court and joined the Huguenots. Among them was found the son of the Duke de Mayenne, the former head of the League. Louis was still under the regency of his mother, who was herself governed by the counsels of Concini and his wife Leonora. From one step of honor Concini rose to another, till we recognise in him no longer

the son of the obscure notary at Florence, or the gentleman-usher of Mary de Medicis, when she entered France, but the accomplished, the elegant Maréchal d'Ancre. The union between Anne of Austria and the young King had been projected by Mary and her counsellors, and she now determined it should take place. But the insurrection of Condé, who was at the head of a powerful army, made it necessary for Louis to take prudential measures, and the Court, with a large number of troops, and the young King at their head, proceeded to his nuptials. Though Condé followed close upon him, there was no engagement of the armies, and the marriage took place. Anne of Austria was but fifteen, and Louis near the same age. The alliance with Spain was sealed by the marriage of Elizabeth, sister to Louis, with the Infanta of Spain.

Hitherto the Queen Regent had exercised undisputed sway ; but Louis began to feel his importance as a king, and, through the influence of his favorite, the Marquis de Luines, determined to assert his power, and be no longer held in leading-strings.

Mary, who had hitherto trusted wholly to the counsels of D'Ancre, now found a new ally in Richelieu, who was the friend of the Italian, and then known as Bishop of Luçon. By their counsels she ventured to arrest Condé, who had

returned to the Court, after a peace had been signed between the two parties. The arrest of the first Prince of the blood, and his imprisonment in the Bastille, excited the greatest indignation, and the Huguenots again flew to arms. At this period Louis, who had seemed wholly engaged in boyish sports, conceived the project of ridding himself and the kingdom of the insolent and turbulent D'Ancre. De Vitry, the captain of the guard, arrested him ; a struggle ensued, and the Maréchal was killed upon the spot. His remains were dishonored by the rabble, and his unfortunate wife, Leonora, dragged to the scaffold. She was accused of exerting magical arts over the mind of Mary, and ordered to say what they were. She haughtily replied, " The influence of a strong mind over a weak one."

This sanguinary execution was attributed to the young King, and congratulations and praises were sent to him from all quarters. Even Duplessis, the Huguenot, congratulated Louis on having struck a blow, " which will manifest, abroad and at home, that France has, in truth, a King." The Synod, forgetting the atrocity of the assassination, testified to the monarch their joy and approbation of the deed, and called it " an enterprise purely divine and miraculous." Thus flattered, Louis assumed the merit of the deed, whether deserved or not, and said, in reply, " God inspired me with the resolution."

After the fall of D'Ancre, Mary was allowed to retire to Blois, a term for *imprisonment*, and Richelieu accompanied her. Soon, however, he was ordered to quit Blois, and retire to his bishopric. Mary, made desperate by these measures, at length escaped from her prison by descending a ladder placed at her window; and, hastening to Angoulême, found an army, collected by the Duke d'Epemon, who warmly espoused her cause, viewing her as an injured and insulted queen. Here terms of accommodation were negotiated, and Mary once more returned to Court. The first meeting between the mother and son marks the character of both.

"How your Majesty has grown!" said the Queen.

"Grown for your service, Madam," replied the young monarch.

The party of the Queen-mother continued to increase; she was the widow of Henry the Fourth, and the mother of the King, and a degree of indignation was excited by the measures which had taken place. De Luines judged it expedient to liberate Condé from the Bastille, in hopes of securing his aid. This project was successful, and peace at the Court was once more restored.

The King had now leisure to turn his arms towards Bearn, the seat of his ancestors, the

patrimony of his father, who had secured to them their property and worship, and had restored their churches, which had been taken by the Catholics. Louis issued a proclamation, declaring them the property of the crown, and bestowing on the Catholics all which they had before claimed. The Protestants, indignant at this injustice, convoked a general assembly at Rochelle, raised troops, and began to fortify the places they held. Louis ordered the dissolution of this assembly ; the reformed party refused to comply, holding the Edict of Nantes as their guarantee for every article. Louis now put himself at the head of an army, and marched against the Huguenots. He reduced the province of Bearn, seized the ecclesiastical lands, and annulled their privileges. The assembly at Rochelle published a bold decree, dividing the Protestant regions of France into circles, after the manner of Germany ; in short, endeavouring to organize themselves upon the model of the United Provinces in Holland. To their representations to the King, claiming the privileges allowed them by Henry the Third and Henry the Fourth, he replied, that " the one feared, the other loved them, but he neither feared nor loved them."

The royal army marched to the South, entered Montpellier, and besieged Montauban ; under its walls fell young Mayenne and De Luines, the latter dying of a fever.

The Huguenots, for this time, were saved ; but nothing could be more desperate than their prospects. Driven from one resource to another, even the most sanguine predicted, that the time was not far distant, when their worship and religion could only be defended by their lives.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

THE DUCHESS DE MONTBAZON, AND THE  
ORDER OF LA TRAPPE.

THE King was now firmly seated on the throne, for which the two preceding monarchs had so long contended ; and, as if nothing further remained to be done, he sank into indolence and apathy. Richelieu had become his favorite and chief counsellor ; and, as he advanced in the good graces of the King, he assumed a haughty and insolent air, till, at length, Mary beheld her former humble friend rising to supremacy. The utmost resentment towards him took possession of her mind, and she delighted to torment and mortify him with all the little arts of a weak ingenuity. Gaston, Duke of Orleans, brother to the King, had grown into importance, and, amid the gay revels of the Court, was attracted by his beautiful sister-in-law, Anne of Austria. Louis saw their growing friendship with dismay. Richelieu, who had his own purposes to answer, encouraged these suspicions, and the King could only be appeased by Gaston's marriage with

Mademoiselle de Montpensier. We turn, with disgust, from the picture presented, at this period, by the Court of France. Amidst the splendid *fêtes* given by the two Queens, and by the nobility, on this marriage, there were the basest motives in operation. Gaston was attached to another young lady of the Court, and had reluctantly formed this alliance. The King and Queen were on the coldest terms, scarcely meeting except in public, and Mary de Medicis was a prey to suspicion, and always studying to harass her enemy, as she now considered Richelieu.

At one of the marriage *fêtes* given by the Duke de Montbazon, Richelieu appeared dressed with peculiar magnificence. His countenance was clad in smiles, and, while the King, gloomy and discontented, retired from observation, the Cardinal, in his rich and flowing robes, did not disdain to show off his fine person, and court the admiration of the beauties present. There, too, was the young Duchess de Montbazon, the fair wife of the host, married while almost a child to the old Duke. Her life was passed in the midst of routs and parties, and, with a heart formed for the strongest affection, she seemed condemned to share with her husband the chilling frost of age, communicating its power to all the living and breathing forms of nature. Her eye was languid, her cheeks pale, her dress, though elegant, care-



lessly arranged ; every thing told the ennui and listlessness of her mind. It was in the boudoir of this lady, the morning before the *fête*, that Mary de Medicis had sought to pique the Cardinal, by declaring that the age of manly beauty had passed. Richelieu, though he despised the insect, felt the sting, and replied, " However just the remarks of your Majesty usually are, permit me to say, that, with the Duchess de Montbazon's leave, I will bring a guest to-morrow evening whose personal appearance will disprove your assertion." The Duchess coldly assented, and Mary eagerly inquired his name and origin.

" Both," replied the Cardinal, " ancient and honorable ; he is the nephew of Chavigni, and his ancestors were cup-bearers to the Duke of Brittany. More than that, he is my god-son."

" Now the secret is out," said Mary sharply ; " whatever belongs to the Cardinal becomes valuable in his own opinion, and possesses his own graces and charms."

" It becomes not me," replied Richelieu with ostentatious humility, " to battle words with royalty, but wait till you have seen my protégé."

" This evening," said Mary, whose curiosity always got the better of her pride, " we will retire from the saloon at twelve, and expect to see you with your second self."

That evening the saloons were crowded. The

Queen, Anne of Austria, was present, concealing by her smiles a heart ill at ease, for she felt her desolate situation ; a foreigner, unloved by her husband, jealously watched by his mother, and viewing the Cardinal as her enemy.

At the hour appointed Mary reminded the young Duchess of their assignation with Richelieu, and they both retired. The Duke, satisfied with knowing that he possessed the most beautiful wife in Paris, walked proudly amidst his splendid saloons, and turned his eyes oftener on the blazing jewels of the Duchess than on her simple and exquisite loveliness ; fortunately he did not comprehend that a coronet could cover an aching brow.

When Mary and the Duchess entered the boudoir, the latter threw herself into a large *fauteuil*, as she had been accustomed to do, when she retired to rest herself at the levees held by the Duke. The hour was just upon twelve, and Mary was more impatient than became a queen ; but the fair mistress of the apartment, after trying to keep up a conversation in which she took no interest, involuntarily closed her eyes, and a gentle slumber came over her. The stealthy step of Richelieu entered the door, followed by his protégé. The Queen-mother, with a smile, made a motion of silence, and pointed to the Duchess, who, buried in the sleep of inno-

cence and youth, reclined against the well-cushioned chair. The visitors stopped, for the *tableau* was striking. On her marble forehead rested the coronet, a string of precious stones encircled her neck, and her stomacher, studded with diamonds, caught every hue of light by her gentle and constant respiration. Mary turned her eye on the nephew of Richelieu, and she certainly felt surprise. History thus describes Rancé de Chavigni. "From early childhood his figure was remarkably noble, and his countenance singularly beautiful. He was above the common stature, his features were of the finest model of Roman beauty ; over all was thrown an expression of masculine strength, and to this was added, unlike his uncle, a modest and gentle demeanor, the power of vigorous intellect, delicacy of taste, and acute sensibility."

From this time De Rancé became a constant visitor at the *hôtel* de Montbazon. He was a *belle-lettre* scholar, an able student of theology, and had received the successive degrees of the Sorbonne. As an Abbé and a Knight of Malta, an odor of sanctity was cast over his character, and he was considered a family guest. The young Duchess soon contracted an ardent desire for literary knowledge under his instruction.

Such was the situation of De Rancé in a profligate Court ; for a time he resisted tempta-

tions. At length rumors to his disadvantage were whispered abroad ; his love of play and inordinate desire for amusement were dwelt upon, and reports reached the ear of the Duchess. The caution came too late, her peace of mind was gone, she had discovered that she had a heart. Yet, with a resolution worthy of a virtuous purpose, she dismissed him from her presence, and passed her time in tears. Her health, which was always delicate, sunk under her depression, and a rapid decline took place. She soon felt that her end was approaching, and her fervent prayers were for De Rancé's eternal welfare. Her feverish hours were passed in projecting plans, that might rouse him to repentance, and awaken in his soul his early love of virtue. De Rancé was on a hunting party when he received a letter from the Duchess, requesting his presence ; the hour was appointed at the same time that they first met, and in the same boudoir. With a feeling of triumph he hastened to the *hôtel* ; he thought of the Duchess as he first saw her, her eyes closed in innocent and tranquil sleep. He arrived at the door of the boudoir and knocked, no one answered ; he entered, and, by the dim light, perceived a coffin ; in this was laid the body of the Duchess ; but, horrible to relate, the head, the once beautiful head, was severed from the body, and placed by

the side of it. De Rancé stood for a moment, the blood rushing violently to his brain. Then he poured forth groans and exclamations ; the attendants came forward and explained the horrible circumstance, by the leaden coffin's being too short to receive the body. \*

We have been insensibly led to this narration, and may as well close the history of Chavigni de Rancé. From this time a state of frantic despair took possession of his mind, his reason was quite gone ; and even Richelieu's spirits became clouded by the dreadful situation of his nephew. By degrees his madness settled into a deep melancholy, and he spent whole days in the forests, wandering about ; at the fall of a leaf, or the footstep of an animal, he would start, wring his hands, and hasten to bury himself in the thickest part of the wood. As the spring advanced he grew more tranquil, and even consented to see his uncle, the Cardinal, who endeavoured to rouse his mind to its former habits. De Rancé calmly replied, " There is yet time for repentance ; the honors and wealth of this world have proved a snare to me." He surrendered to Richelieu such benefices as he had received from him ; bestowed his ecclesiastical

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\* This circumstance is mentioned in "*Les Causes célèbres et intéressantes*," with the name of the Duchess.

revenues on good and pious men ; and disposed of his personal estates in Touraine, vesting the money in the Hôtel Dieu, and other monastic institutions. Among his ecclesiastical benefices was the Abbé of La Trappe, one of the most ancient of the Cistercian orders. Originally it had been austere, but had now degenerated into luxury and sloth, and it was even said, the monks lived by plunder, and never went out unarmed. Here, then, was a scene of labor worthy the excited mind of the new convert. He appeared among the band of ruffians. " I am your head," said he ; " this order is the only one I have reserved to myself, and to this, by the grace of God, I will devote myself."

The wild and stern energy of his manner, the deep and commanding tones of his voice, and, above all, that determination which arises from self-confidence, awed the dissolute brothers. Here he founded the austere order of La Trappe, which is the most severe on record. Perpetual silence, little repose, and that on knotted couches, and scanty food, are the great restrictions. The situation of the monastery was well adapted to his views. For many miles around it the most death-like silence reigned, large lakes and dark forests encompassed it ; and often the exhalations arising from the water were so dense, that only the

gray towers of the monastery could be distinguished.\*

Richelieu appears to have shown the painful sensibility of early life in regard to the preceding events ; indeed, we find, that he began his exercise of power with clemency, and proposed that capital executions should be abolished ; but, before he ended his career, his thirst for human life seems to have been great, and his robes might be said to be dyed in the blood of others. The extermination of the Huguenots became a favorite project, and the power he exercised over the mind of the King was exerted for this purpose. Rochelle was still the strong-hold of the Huguenots. Their strength was impaired by the deaths of the Duke of Bouillon and, still more, of Duplessis. The fidelity and wisdom with which the latter had adhered to the reformed cause had never wavered.

The Calvinists, with an inconsiderate zeal, endeavoured to abolish monasteries. Had they restricted their attempts to throwing open the doors of the convents, and leaving the inhabitants of them at liberty to return once more to the world, their efforts would have been meritorious.

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\* The death of De Rancé took place in 1700. In 1818 La Trappe was visited, and described as still retaining the austerities first instituted by him.

But they sought to compel the nuns, not only to relinquish their vows, but to form matrimonial alliances. The reply of one of them to the Duke de Rohan is too striking to be omitted. The Countess de Marcelle, on losing her husband at the age of twenty-eight, retired to a convent and took the vows of the institution. The Duke had known her surrounded by the splendor of the world, and at this crisis beheld her still young and beautiful. He offered to reinstate her in the honors of her former situation, and suggested, that the bereavement which had driven her to this asylum might, in time, be forgotten by forming a new alliance. She replied with frankness, "My Lord, I will not leave you in the error of believing that *sorrow* drove me to this asylum. My early life was one of slavery. I married in obedience to the will of my parents. I became a slave to the world through the will of my husband ; at his death I retired to this convent in search of liberty, and, in the service of God, I find *perfect freedom*. Do 'not seek to place upon me the galling chains I once wore ; leave *me*, and these holy and innocent women, to the life we have chosen. By compelling us to return to the world, it is not liberty the Calvinists offer us, but bondage." The Duke de Rohan became so fully persuaded by the remonstrance of this noble lady, that he exerted all his influence to protect the convents.



The Calvinists, however, determined to *compel* them to be free, and issued laws, that individuals of both sexes should quit their monasteries, renounce their peculiar costume, and mingle in society. Without a moment's hesitation, the nuns petitioned for leave to remain where they were, and convert their convents into hospitals for the sick and wounded. Overcome by the generosity of this proposal, they were permitted by the highest authorities to remain, and wear the dress of *Sœurs de la Charité*. The vast convent of the Ursulines was filled with the wounded ; and, so great was the veneration, respect, and gratitude the Sisters excited, that the Protestant decrees, which forbade them the forms of their religion, were repealed, and they were allowed its external rites and ceremonies. But in these *hospitals* alone was the Catholic religion tolerated. Among the Sisters of Charity, no one was more active, more devoted, than the Countess de Marcelle, performing the humble office of a nurse to the suffering. More than once she was recognised by the wounded royalists, who were brought to the hospital ; but she strenuously refused all communications referring to the past, and, if a second time urged on the subject, appeared no more in their presence.

After Rochelle fell into the hands of the Catholics, the convents returned to their former order,

and we hear of the Countess de Marcelle no more.

Though the Huguenots had yet courage to contend for their rights, their prospects became more desperate. The Rochellois had applied to the Dukes of Rohan and Soubise, the one to defend them by land, the other by sea. Many of the Catholics were sensible, that the reduction of Rochelle would add to the power and consequence of the haughty prelate, and were unwilling to aid him ; but, with that energy and strength of mind which marked his career, he pressed on and vanquished all opposition. The second siege of Rochelle, like the first, has often been described in history. After holding out a long time through the bravery of the mayor, Guiton ; after being disappointed of aid from the English, they were reduced to the most horrible degree of famine. Richelieu wished to subjugate the town, not to destroy it, and he offered peace on condition they would raze their fortifications to the ground, and suffer the Catholics to enter. These terms were rejected with indignation ; all Europe were looking on, and interested in the cause. Holland, and the Protestant States of Germany, were earnestly wishing for the preservation of this brave little city ; but the fear of France, and the despotism of Austria, prevented their sending succour. At length Charles the First determined

to send them aid. The English fleet appeared in sight of Rochelle, and the famishing inhabitants were once more filled with hope. The movements of the English fleet announced preparations for an attack upon the French. The mayor, Guiton, armed boats to contribute to their aid ; the women, and even the children, flocked to the ramparts and towers of the city, their hearts were elated with joy at the prospect of a speedy deliverance. All was in agitation and commotion. The English fleet, however, remained quiet, and the commander, after resting eight days inactive, set sail for England.\*

The distress, disappointment, and even rage, of the Rochellois may be imagined. After the most careful research, it was found that there were only provisions enough in the town to sustain them for six weeks. The courage of the inhabitants was supported by the mayor, and by their ministers, who promised them a reward in heaven for their magnanimity and heroism. New emissaries were despatched to London, who reported that a more formidable fleet was to sail for their relief, under Buckingham. Again they

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\* It is said, that seven days of bad weather prevented the Admiral from engaging, and on the eighth he discovered that his ships drew too much water to approach the city.

gave themselves up to this delusion, and assumed fresh courage.

A new disappointment awaited this unfortunate people ; they received the news of Buckingham's assassination.

Richelieu, supposing distress and famine might bring them to his terms, again proposed a surrender. Guiton rejected the idea, and the faction who advocated it collected on one night a crowd of women, children, and aged persons, who were useless, and consumed their stores, and drove them beyond the lines. We may recollect the reception Henry the Fourth gave to such a miserable set at the siege of Paris ; he received them kindly, and furnished them with food. Louis repulsed them with musketry, and drove them back. At length the brave city was compelled to yield ; the survivors were often unable to bury their dead, their houses were tenanted by ghastly corpses, and but one third of the number of inhabitants remained.

Soon after the edict was pronounced, that for ever annihilated the independence of Rochelle. The Roman Catholic religion was declared to be the established faith, the fortifications were razed, the walls were prostrated, and a cross was erected, commemorating the surrender of the city. On the 1st of November, Richelieu celebrated mass in the Church of St. Marguerite, once the cherished

temple of Protestant worship. The surrender of Rochelle put an end to the war of religion, and the hopes of the Protestants were nearly extinguished.

The Duke of Rohan still continued his protection to the reformed party, and succeeded in making more favorable treaties for them than could be expected. The royal edict of grace and pardon, as it was styled, was now issued, and the triumph of Louis over his rebellious subjects, and his great clemency, were blazoned forth. The general establishment of the Roman Catholic religion was enacted, and a strong wish expressed, that the pretended Reformed might profit by his goodness, and embrace the true faith. The Synods were still held, but a feeble and broken spirit marked their religious councils ; they, however, expressed great ardor for the *Greek language*, and declared it necessary for all candidates for the ministry.

The Huguenots from this time appear to have enjoyed some degree of tranquillity. They were allowed their worship, under certain restrictions, and appear to have been thought too insignificant for notice. Even their Synods were not called together for six years. In 1637 one was convened, which touches on the subject of slavery.

Louis, though weak, and formed to be governed, desired the happiness of France ; and it

was this tie that bound him to Richelieu, whom he never loved. He saw the great power he had acquired by his extensive genius, and believed his influence necessary for the welfare of the nation.

At this period it may be interesting, to view the leaders of the French Court. Mary de Medicis, the widow of Henry the Fourth, had, even to excess, the passion for governing, yet was too weak to hold the reins with a steady hand. She had raised Richelieu to power ; but when he ceased to be her instrument she detested him. She could never be termed an affectionate wife or mother, and, as a queen, she was weak and imperious. Anne, of Austria, the Queen, had beauty and talents, but she was impatient, and could bear no neglect. Unfortunately Louis doubted her affection for him, and they were mutually alienated by the interference of the Cardinal. Gaston, Duke of Orleans, possessed great vivacity, but as little energy as his brother, to whom he was inferior in principles and good conduct. Richelieu easily governed the whole, and was hated by all.

Louis retained a filial submission to his mother when with her, but absence weakened her power, and he could easily be alienated from her. During a severe fit of illness, which attacked him, he promised, in compliance with her entreaties, to

dismiss the Cardinal. Mary triumphed, Anne triumphed, Gaston triumphed, and the whole Court triumphed. In a few hours the scene was reversed, Richelieu triumphed, and became more powerful than ever.

Henry, Duke de Montmorency, was a lineal descendant of Anne de Montmorency, who for his bravery was made Marshal of France, and accompanied Francis the First into Italy, and shared his captivity, when the battle of Pavia was fought and lost, in 1525. If we look back to the opening of this history, we shall remember him as Constable of France, and as slain at the battle of St. Dennis. The Montmorency line had done faithful service to the nation, and was justly prized by them. Henry, the grandson of Anne, possessed the bravery of the race, and was made Admiral of France at the age of eighteen. He often distinguished himself against the Huguenots in Languedoc, Piedmont, and by sea near the Isle of Rhe, which submitted to his arms. He was the intimate friend of Gaston, the brother of the King, who, indignant at the power and insolence of Richelieu, determined to take up arms, and, if possible, expel the favorite. The young Montmorency was easily induced to join him. At the battle of Castlenaudari he was taken prisoner. His former services were universally remembered, and the voice of the people

was raised for his preservation. But Richelieu, who governed, was inexorable, and he was beheaded at Toulouse, in 1632, at the age of thirty-seven. The manly grace of his person was very striking, and a strong resemblance existed between himself and his sister Charlotte, married to the Prince of Condé, with whose beauty Henry the Fourth was unfortunately captivated. Her son was the great and illustrious Condé.

The execution of the Duke, though he united with Gaston against Louis, excited the sympathy of all France, and increased the hatred towards Richelieu, who swayed the mind of the King. Montmorency's high rank, his bravery, and the service he had done the nation, might have exempted him from the scaffold. Crowds implored his pardon of the King, but in vain. His wife, in the bloom of youth and beauty, retired to a convent at Moulins ; there she erected a magnificent mausoleum to her husband's memory, and spent her days in relieving the poor and unhappy. Always clad in deep mourning, she never appeared in public, and was soon forgotten. Her ashes, at her request, were deposited in the same tomb with her husband's.

It is supposed that Richelieu meditated a total extinction of the Huguenots, but other measures engrossed his attention, and their safety consisted in their quiet. He had attained a power which left



him nothing to desire ; his ambition had reached its height, and he triumphed over his enemies. He had now time to think of the glory of France. The navy was recreated by him ; and all other classes seemed to have received fresh vigor by his influence. He acted the courtier and accomplished gentleman more entirely than ever. In 1635 he founded the French Academy, and, though despotic in the department of literature, as in all things else, his genius prevailed. He made, however, a great mistake in endeavouring to crush Corneille ; here he found his power bounded ; the world decided for the Poet, and the Statesman was obliged to yield.

Mademoiselle de la Fayette, for whom Louis had formed an attachment more tender than to Anne of Austria, exerted all her influence to reconcile the King and Queen, and finally retired to a convent, where she still continued her virtuous counsels. Perhaps it might be attributed to her generous endeavours, that Louis began to discover attractions in his wife, and a reconciliation took place. At this time the power of Richelieu tottered. Both Mary de Medicis and Anne endeavoured to remove him from the Court a second time. Mary herself became the victim, and was banished from France by her son.

In the year 1638, just twenty-two years from their marriage, a prince was born, afterwards Louis the Fourteenth.

Richelieu now had no competitor, and he reigned much more truly than the King. The Queen-mother no longer thought of contending, but implored leave to return to France. This Richelieu refused, and advised her to retreat to Florence. She avoided her native city, unwilling it should be a witness of her disgrace. After spending some time in England, she died at Cologne, a little before the Cardinal, whose death took place in 1642. Louis appointed Mazarin Prime Minister after Richelieu's death, but survived Richelieu but a short time. On his death-bed he appointed Mazarin one of his executors.

Of Louis the Thirteenth we have said but little, as he seems to have been but a pageant in the passing show ; yet a slight sketch may not be irrelevant to our present purpose. When fourteen years old he solemnly confirmed the Edict of Nantes, and convened a meeting of the States-General. This was the last that was convened, till it was summoned by Louis the Sixteenth, in 1789. The Huguenots soon after, from discontent, concluded a treaty with the Prince of Condé, and were preparing to appear in arms, when Sully and Duplessis were able to quell their rebellious spirit, and procure an accommodation. The most important event to the Huguenots, during the reign of Louis the Thirteenth, was his march, in 1619, through Bordeaux, or Pau,

entirely remodelling their constitution, instituting a College of Jesuits at Pau, and obliging the Huguenots to surrender their churches to the Romanists. Bearn, by these measures, was annexed to the Catholic priesthood, and the Huguenots were considered merely a tolerated sect. It is remarkable, that he should have been styled Louis the *Just*, in the early part of his reign, as it appears that the title was given by courtesy, no cause appearing for it. The murder of D'Ancre was, probably, his own act. His conduct to his mother was heartless and, at the same time, cowardly. Much may be traced to her own injudicious management, and the exertion of a tyrannical will over his boyish years. He feared, without loving her, and was only dutiful and submissive in her presence. The contrast his character formed to that of his father's is striking. Yet, while truth can accord him but few of his royal virtues, he likewise appears to have inherited none of his private faults.

During the disturbances of the kingdom, the Huguenots rose, with Rohan and Soubise at their head, but were persuaded to relinquish their purpose. Albert de Luines established himself in the young Prince's confidence, it is said, by presenting him with two magpies, trained to the pursuit of small birds, like falcons, and was rewarded by being made governor of Amboise.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

## REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES.

THE two most important characters of this period of the French drama had now disappeared, Richelieu and Louis, the one admired and hated, the other soon forgotten.

Anne of Austria, aided by Mazarin, immediately followed the example of Mary de Medicis, and ordered herself to be declared regent. Gaston, Duke of Orleans, who had been pardoned, though Montmorency was executed, was declared Lieutenant-General of the kingdom ; which was, in fact, an empty title, the power all resting with the Queen and Mazarin. Anne was obliged to continue the war with Spain, which Richelieu had begun, though she was always greatly opposed to it, and much attached to her brother, Philip the Fourth, King of Spain. The death of Richelieu, the minority of Louis the Fourteenth, and the favorable disposition of the Queen, had filled the Court of Spain with the most sanguine hopes of success ; this was confirmed, when they heard that the command of

the army was given to Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, a young man of twenty-one years of age. The Duke d'Enghien (for by this title he was then known) was the descendant of Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, who was the first leader of the Huguenots. D'Enghien seems to have been *born* mature. Without experience, which he was said to despise as a cant term, he became, at once, the first general of the age, and secured to himself the title of the Great Condé. In defiance of the Court, he besieged Rocroi, and, in taking possession of it, weakened the resources and spirit of Spain.

It is related by historians, that the night on which the battle took place the young Prince slept so profoundly, that it was necessary to awaken him. He was calm, collected, saw every thing, and seemed to be in every place at the same time. When the battle was over, he was equally vigilant in preventing all carnage ; it was a common saying, that Condé took as much pains to spare the conquered, as he had taken to conquer them. After this splendid victory, leaving Turenne commander of the army, he returned to Paris, where he was received with shouts and acclamations. Turenne was unsuccessful, and Condé again flew to his aid, and gained new victories.

Cardinal de Retz at this time appeared on the

stage as an antagonist of Mazarin. He took the part of the Parliament, always opposed to the Minister and Queen, and became the leader of the popular party. A new faction arose, entitled the *Fronde*. Condé was applied to by both parties ; to De Retz he answered, " My name is Louis de Bourbon ; I will not war against the throne." He promised Mazarin, however, to act the part of a mediator between both. An old party was now revived, called, in derision, the *Importans*. This was composed of the old nobility, and even ladies of the Court. The Duke de Rochefoucault (author of the *Maxims*) was won to this party by the persuasions of his favorite, Madame de Longueville. Condé, at length, consented to take the charge of reducing these factions against the Queen ; and, uniting with Gaston, Duke of Orleans, prepared to invest Paris. The attack was successful, and the sedition quelled.

It became necessary to the political measures of Mazarin, to form an alliance for the young King in matrimony. Louis had conceived an attachment to Mademoiselle Mancini, the niece of Mazarin ; though the Cardinal might have been happy to see her seated on the throne, he dared not attempt it ; and, after long negotiations, the marriage was concluded between Louis the Fourteenth and Maria Theresa, the Infanta of

Spain. Cardinal Mazarin brought them back in triumph to Paris. The pomp and pride of the minister exceeded that which Richelieu had formerly exhibited. The espousals were celebrated with great magnificence. Gaston died about this time, and Louis the Fourteenth invested his brother Philip, Duke of Anjou, with the estates and title of Duke of Orleans. Mazarin had completed his political career ; he had married his nieces to the first nobles of Europe, and amassed immense wealth. His love of fine paintings became a passion. His health was daily failing, and he consulted his physician upon the nature of his malady, who frankly told him, that he could not live longer than two months. The Cardinal, in his dressing gown and nightcap, tottered to his gallery of pictures. Brienne, his friend, followed him. He stood gazing upon them with his hands clasped. "Look," he exclaimed, "look at that Corregio ! this Venus of Titian ! that Deluge of Caracci ! Ah, my friend, I must quit all these. Farewell, dear pictures, that I loved so truly, that have cost me so much !" A few days before his death he was carried, in his chair, to the promenade, exquisitely dressed and rouged. The courtiers ironically complimented him on his appearance, telling him he never looked "so fresh and vermillion." He died at the age of 51, in 1661.

Though the Cardinal had not been an active friend of the Protestants, it was gain to them, such was their unhappy situation, not to find active enemies. Their long series of persecution and disappointment, and perhaps their short intervals of rest, had unfitted them for the same strenuous exertion, which had once nerved their arms. It is to be recorded to their honor, that, under all vicissitudes, they still held fast to their faith ; and, though many had followed Henry the Fourth in his path of abdication, they were chiefly the courtiers, who had embraced the reformed doctrine from motives of interest. Nor is it unnatural to ascribe great influence to the winning persuasions of the monarch. Though in the case of Sully they failed, in many who probably loved the King less they succeeded.

The death of Richelieu had relieved them from a mighty foe. His object was to extirpate them as a religious party, and preserve enough of them for his own political uses.

The Huguenots seized the moment of a new administration, after his death, to present their claims. Mazarin had listened favorably, and confirmed the privileges accorded by the Edict of Nantes ; he also licensed the convention of the twenty-eighth national Synod. At this time the Protestants seem to have departed from the high tone of Mornay-Duplessis, and others.



There is something adulatory in their addresses ; perhaps suffering had prostrated their minds. Their zeal, however, does not appear to have been diminished, but their mode of expressing it shows some departure from stern principle. The Protestant deputies complained, that, " through the rigor of his majesty's officers, those of the reformed religion were not allowed to set up as masters for themselves in any one trade whatsoever."

Soon after, the Parliament of Rouen declared, that no Huguenot could be received as a master goldsmith, till it was proved that there were fourteen Catholics of the same trade to counter-balance his heresy. No diplomas were allowed to Huguenot apothecaries, and a fine of three thousand livres was inflicted upon any druggist of the reformed religion, who should presume to open a shop. The sempstresses, too, rose on the occasion, and protested against *reformed apprentices*, soliciting the protection of the King to save them from this direful contact. Cardinal Mazarin, notwithstanding all these remonstrances, had not shown himself unfavorable to the Protestants, but even made use of the services of a wealthy Calvinistic banker. The Queen-regent and the young King graciously received all deputations, and solemnly confirmed the Edict of Nantes. Again the reformed party were suffered

to enjoy tranquillity, and felt as if France was their home and country.

But even at this period the unfortunate Vaudois were once more assaulted, and new and horrible massacres perpetrated. We enter not into this part of the history of Protestant wrongs ; it would form a series by itself. Cromwell's intervention is said to have arrested these deeds of cruelty. Louis the Fourteenth disavowed the acts, and commanded his troops to forbear.

The Catholic clergy murmured at the patronage and countenance given to heretics, and, in 1656, obtained the promulgation of an instrument, which annulled many favorable clauses, and which also announced, that the King had determined to send into each province two commissioners, one Catholic, and one Protestant, for the purpose of restoring good order. Years, however, passed, and nothing material took place ; a few encroachments were made, and the Huguenots remonstrated, sending a deputation to Court. They did not receive a satisfactory answer, and, quitting it in a state of irritation and disgust, they seem to have considered new exertion necessary, as they called a national Synod, though fifteen years had elapsed since the last.

After the death of Mazarin, Louis the Fourteenth assumed the direction of affairs. Colbert, who succeeded him in the King's favor, appeared

also to have imbibed the Cardinal's pacific disposition towards the Huguenots, for he boldly declared, in answer to some remonstrances against them, that they were good and faithful servants. By degrees, however, encroachments were made upon the reformed church, their funerals and baptisms were regulated, and even their dress was prescribed.

But a new era was approaching. Louis, full of youthful enthusiasm, and influenced by bigoted men, determined to signalize his piety. How was this most effectually to be done? The pilgrimages of earlier ages had passed away. He could no longer acquire fame by travelling on foot, with staff and scrip, to the Holy Land. But he still might signalize his Catholic ardor by making proselytes. Subjects were not wanting, and he determined, that every day, nay, every hour, should witness new converts. The year of Jubilee was approaching, and a new Christian hero was to arise, and, perhaps, find another Tasso to immortalize his name. Then began the mighty work; the dying Huguenots were tormented by magistrates, and priests were ever at hand to receive their recantations. Often the crucifix was placed to the lips from which the last breath was proceeding, and the expiring subject was pronounced *a convert*. Children, at seven years old, were declared capable of choosing between the two religions, and, in some instances, were bought

over by pious nuns and amiable Sisters of Charity, with toys and *bon-bons*, and were removed from the dwellings of their parents to the care of ghostly confessors. Still, however, the conversions proceeded too slowly for the fervent zeal of the young monarch. The gown and cassock were mere spiritual insignia, and military agency was called to aid the work. No process of reasoning was thought necessary to convince the obstinate heretics ; the conversion was to be effected in a moment, and at the point of the bayonet.

The Huguenots, now entirely despairing of repose, began to emigrate. Whole families quitted France, and repaired to Protestant States. The Court took alarm ; they seem now to have had a glimpse of the folly of driving from their country many of its useful citizens, and, instead of wisely adopting more lenient measures, had recourse to new penal edicts, to stem the tide of emigration. All mariners and manufacturers were forbidden to leave France, under the penalty of condemnation to the galleys for life. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the severe edicts issued ; their worship was invaded by spies, and the *pretended reformed*, as they were universally styled, were subjected to the most outrageous insults.

Weakened and disheartened, they could no longer point to illustrious leaders, but a few

distinguished names remained to them. Though they were still in possession of wealth, for commerce had always been open to them, yet wealth, unprotected by legal power, only made them objects for rapacity and severe espionage. Turenne, the second son of the Duke de Bouillon, who had formerly refused the hand of the niece of Cardinal de Richelieu on the score of his being a Protestant, now abjured the reformed religion, and embraced the Catholic. This was a cruel blow to the Huguenots, who had relied on his constancy. Ruvigny, known at the English Court as Earl of Galway and Deputy-general of the Huguenots, still remained firm to their cause. They had, likewise, skilful and learned divines ; we need only mention Claude, the antagonist of Bossuet.

Anne of Austria, the Queen-mother, seems to have deserved a better fate than her royal marriage with Louis the Thirteenth procured her. During his life she experienced from him coldness and neglect ; after his death she was plunged in constant dissension and tumult, till the death of Mazarin. Though there existed a tender friendship between herself and the minister, even the free and careless records of the Court have never impeached her virtue. She was a woman of refined and gentle manners, possessing great comprehension of character, accommodating her-

self as far as her principles would admit, to the gayety of the society around her, but never suffering it to degenerate into dissoluteness. All who deviated from propriety were excluded from her circle, and to be admitted to her levee was a distinction all prized.

The heart of a woman is sometimes surrendered without her consent. Her conduct proved that she deeply felt the death of Mazarin. She bade farewell to the splendor of the Court, and sought the walls of a convent, which she had liberally endowed. "Mother," said she to the Abbess, "I cross this threshold to return no more." The nuns gathered round her in mute surprise; no one spoke. There was that in her countenance and manner which awed beholders. She lived but one year after the minister, and died in her sixty-fourth year, still retaining the dignified and noble expression, which had been her chief beauty in youth. Anne possessed no common character; how much influence her virtue and delicacy exerted over the Court was soon exemplified. The King sought only for wit and devotedness in the courtiers; and, though he established severe rules of etiquette, the age of Louis the Fourteenth has been proverbial for its dissoluteness.

Though Anne was not a patroness of the Huguenots, and considered them as enemies to the

true faith, yet her gentleness of disposition led her to encourage Mazarin's lenity towards them. Though nurtured by the holy inquisition, she frequently expressed her opinion against rigorous punishment. "I cannot forget," she said, "that heretics are men." Louis appears to have lost sight of this truth, and treated them with increasing severity.

Hitherto the conduct of the Huguenots had exhibited the most untiring submission. But in 1683 a confederacy was formed, and sixteen delegates assembled at Toulouse, to represent Languedoc, Cévennes, Vivarais, and Dauphiny. They there determined, let the consequences be what they might, to assert their faith, and no longer be registered as converts to the Catholic religion; and to endure martyrdom rather than abjure. It was agreed, that on the same Sabbath all the meetinghouses should be opened, and congregations assemble in them. This convention was so secretly accomplished, that no rumors reached the Catholics, and, on the appointed day, the afflicted Huguenots gathered together. Not only churches were re-opened, but the ruins of those which had been razed to the ground, were occupied by this persecuted people, to whom the very stones seemed consecrated by the divine presence. *There* might be seen young men and old, parents and children,

seated on the crumbling ruins, and listening to the minister. The fervent prayer of the persecuted ascended, and the soft voices of women mingled with louder strains. But there were other gatherings still more touching ; of those, who had abjured upon compulsion, who sought no other temple but the dark and thick forest, no other roof but the canopy of heaven, no other judge but God himself. Amidst the waving of the trees, and the rushing of the mountain stream, their voices mingled in sorrowful and repentant accents. Louis was soon informed of this defiance ; he sent troops against them, and the Huguenots were compelled to arm in self-defence. " There is no amnesty," said he ; and the dragoons advanced, not to combat, but to slaughter. The troops were quartered upon the insurgent districts. " You are to cause such desolation," wrote Louvois (the minister of the King), " in that country [the Vivarais], that its example may restrain all other Huguenots."

In a *rencontre*, near Bordeaux, the troops were opposed by three hundred of the reformed party, who defended themselves with bravery. Those who were taken prisoners were cruelly executed ; one aged minister, who was said to have " preached sedition to the Huguenots," was insulted, and finally led to the scaffold by a drunken executioner.

The history of the *dragonnades* includes a



period of private persecution, which we should be unwilling to describe. The province of Bearn at length surrendered to force, and the seat of the reformed doctrine, from its earliest birth, nurtured by Jane d'Albret, yielded to cruelty and suffering ; a religious procession was formed at Pau, a grand mass was performed, and bonfires and illuminations proclaimed the conversion of the heretics. The success of the dragonnading measures encouraged Louvois, the minister, to employ it in extending conversions over all the heretical provinces of France. The troops spread over Guienne, Languedoc, Angoumois, Saintonge, Poitou, and the adjoining provinces. Wherever these *booted missionaries* appeared, terms were offered for renunciation, and, in case of a refusal, all were placed at the mercy of a hardened, brutal soldiery. Sometimes the terrified peasantry abjured by equivocal expressions. Louis was undoubtedly deceived, and believed the reported conversions sincere, which, only in Languedoc, amounted to twenty-four thousand. Madame de Maintenon expressed her doubts, but added, " Even if the fathers are hypocrites, the children will be Catholics."

The period had arrived, when Louis supposed that every heretic in the kingdom might be united to the apostolic church by a formal revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and it was stated, that the

Edict was never meant to be perpetual, but only a temporizing act of his royal father and grandfather. That the many troubles, which agitated the reigns of his successors, had prevented the execution of their designs, and he was left to accomplish them. That, by the blessing of Heaven, the greater and better part of the Huguenots had returned to the true religion, and the Edict of Nantes had become wholly useless, therefore it was revoked, as well as every other ordinance in favor of the Huguenots. It is evident, that Louis thought it necessary to make an apology, not only to the world, but to his own conscience, in this revocation. He therefore declares, in the preamble, that Henry the Fourth, his grandfather, had only granted the Edict for temporary purposes, and that he might, in the course of time, bring his system of one universal church into operation ; that his sudden and unexpected death had prevented this end, and the various troubles which agitated the kingdom during his father's reign, had likewise prevented the revocation which he had always intended. Now, however, by God's blessing, his people were at rest, and he had the opportunity of accomplishing what they had designed ; but so greatly had the country been favored, that the revocation was now a matter of form, the spirit of opposition had passed away.

There was much inconsistency in this declaration, for, at the same time, penalties were enacted for all who did not submit. It was announced, that every Huguenot place of worship should be demolished, and every minister, who refused to conform, should be sentenced to the galleys. These are only a small part of the restrictions and penalties ; but the crowning clemency of the merciful monarch was the permission, that his lay subjects, of the reformed religion, might continue to pursue their trades, provided " they abstain from every exercise of worship, or any profession of religion."

Notwithstanding the severity of these edicts, ministers were found daring enough to openly abide by the Protestant belief. This was no sooner discovered, than new penalties were declared against the offenders. Every minister of the reformed religion, that was discovered preaching in the kingdom, without express permission from the King in writing, was punishable with death. A reward of five thousand five hundred livres was offered for the capture of each proscribed ecclesiastic, and the punishment of perpetual imprisonment threatened against those who concealed them.

The prisons in France the most dreaded, were the Tower of Constance, at Aiguesmorts, and the Hospitals of the Forçats, or galley slaves, at

Marseilles and at Valence, and these were particularly prepared for the Huguenots. Another mode of punishment, was that of conveying the most obstinate to America (the West India Islands), where they were condemned to perpetual slavery. While all this was transacting in various parts of the kingdom, Louis was amusing himself at Versailles and at Marly, by the most expensive works. It was his pride to create, not to improve, and he chose barren and sterile spots, often because they were so. Of course, immense sums were expended in making them productive or ornamental. This liberality and magnificence has been often dwelt on, and, in some degree, acquired for him the title of *Louis le Grand*; but we cannot forget that it was the wealth of the nation he was exhausting, and that the vast sums he drew from the treasury cost *him* no sacrifice. While the Protestants were robbed of their property, their freedom, and often their lives, the great monarch was engaged in hunting expeditions. While men of high religious principle, and spotless lives, were doomed to the galleys, Louis, at a mature age, was dallying with the beauties of his Court, and actually believed that all the nation had been converted to the Catholic religion, with the exception of a few renegades, for whom the galleys were a mild punishment.

Of his Spanish Queen, Maria Theresa, we

seldom hear, although he lived with her twenty-three years. It is said, that Madame de Maintenon produced a revolution in the character of the King before the Queen's death, and when those around, spoke slightly of Madame de Maintenon to Maria, she replied, "Why do you wish to prejudice me against Madame de Maintenon? I believe, on the contrary, that God has raised her up to restore to me the heart of which Madame de Montespan had robbed me. Never have I experienced so much tenderness from the King, as since he has listened to her counsels."

She presented to Madame de Maintenon her miniature, set in diamonds, and the King included her with the Queen, in journeys to Compiègne. After returning from one of these excursions, in 1683, Maria Theresa fell dangerously ill. During her disorder Louis paid her devoted attention. Her heart seemed so alive to these new proofs of tenderness, that we may naturally conjecture she had suffered greatly from his indifference. This might account for her extreme timidity in the presence of *Louis le Grand*. It is said, that she never met him without trembling. When we contrast this feeling of the wedded wife with the power exercised by Madame de Montespan, and the caprices of the little De Fontange, we may form some estimate of the character of the monarch.

The death of Maria took place, fortunately for her, before she awoke from her delusion. She breathed her last in the firm conviction, that, though late, she possessed the affections of her husband. Madame de Maintenon became her legitimate successor the same year.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE HUGUENOTS IN AMERICA. — BISHOP  
CHEVERUS.

THE motives, which induced Louis the Fourteenth to execute the unjust revocation of the Edict of Nantes, have been attributed to three sources, pride, devotion, and politics ; and it has likewise been said, that there were three instigators, M. de Louvois, Madame de Maintenon, and the Jesuits. To the last the destruction of Protestantism was an increase of power, and they represented to the King the glory of performing a deed, in the accomplishment of which his ancestors had failed, namely, of producing uniformity of religion throughout the kingdom, and, at the same time, securing his own eternal salvation.

The minister of war, Louvois, foresaw that this step would necessarily produce wars in Europe, and that his own importance would receive tenfold weight from this circumstance. In concert with Père la Chaise, he applied to Madame de Maintenon for her influence, knowing how much she possessed over the mind of the

King, and assuring her, that a perfect uniformity of religious opinions could be accomplished "without shedding a drop of blood."

If she had any agency in procuring the act of revocation, she was probably deceived by this assertion. She wrote to her brother D'Aubigné, who had distinguished himself by his zeal in converting the Calvinists, "Be favorable to the Catholics, and do not be cruel to the Huguenots. They are in an error, as was Henry the Fourth, and in the same are still many distinguished princes. Jesus Christ gained men by gentleness and love. It is for preachers to convert heretics; soldiers have not the care of their souls."

The retired manner in which the King lived with Madame de Maintenon, jealously guarding the secret of their marriage, probably deceived him as to the actual state of the Huguenots. He trusted to Louvois, who represented matters as he pleased, and wholly unlike the truth. We can hardly imagine, that the King would, otherwise, have driven from the nation the manufacturers, on whom its wealth depended, and sent them to enrich other countries. About that time, Louis, by the aid of Madame de Maintenon, was becoming a devotee, and too much taken up with the Catholic penances, to learn the exact truth of matters so remote. Near this period, too, he was engaged in marrying the eldest of Madame



de Montespan's daughters to the Duc de Chartres. The magnificence of the entertainment astonished every one. The young Princess was only twelve years old, but so loaded with jewels that she almost sank under their weight. "Her ornaments," says Madame de Maintenon, "weighed more than she did."

Louis gave a *fête* at Versailles, in honor of the ceremony. In the large saloon, where the guests entered, were four superb shops, or *boutiques*, containing every thing applicable to the four seasons of the year. The Dauphin and Madame de Montespan superintended the shop of Autumn. The Duke of Maine and Madame de Maintenon, that of Winter. The Duke de Bourbon and Madame de Thianges, that of Summer; and the Duke de Chevreuse, with the Duchess of Bourbon, that of Spring. These shops contained the value of more than fifteen thousand *louis-d'ors*, in elegant materials for dresses, jewels, and precious stones. All the guests, both men and women, played for these things, and were considered the owners of what fell to their lot. When they were tired of this amusement, the valuable contents of the *boutiques* were distributed amongst them by the King and Dauphin.

Such were the different scenes passing in France at the same moment; no groans from the

persecuted Huguenots mingled with the gay laugh and the glad notes of music, which reëchoed through the vaulted roofs of the palace.

Driven from their own country, the Protestants sought shelter in Germany, England, and Holland. Wherever they fled, the name of Louis was loaded with opprobrium. The Elector Palatine received the exiles with the utmost cordiality, and provided for their necessities. William, Prince of Orange, did the same ; and, in the republic of Holland, every man was received as an equal. The mechanics were welcomed and employed. The English opened their ports to them, and procured subscriptions to aid them. Germany, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark afforded them a friendly asylum. North America, which had yet scarcely claimed a place among the nations, standing in desolate grandeur, surrounded by lakes and forests, extended her arms to these exiled brothers.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes did not actually take place till the year 1685. The measures which preceded it made that act almost nominal. The Huguenots had been gradually robbed of one privilege after another, and retained scarcely the shadow of their rights. A declaration, revoking the Edict of Nantes, was supposed to be striking a final blow at Protestantism, that would prostrate it, to rise no more.

How greatly they were deceived, subsequent events have proved.

It is supposed, that there was a mutual understanding between James the Second and Louis the Fourteenth to establish the Catholic religion in England. The parties in England at this period were those formed during the reign of James the First under the names of Whig and Tory. When James the Second endeavoured to introduce the Catholic religion, the Whigs, anxious to frustrate his design, solicited the assistance of William of Orange, who had married the daughter of James. William, unlike his royal father-in-law, was a Protestant, and, being Stadtholder of the United Provinces, was supported by Holland. He returned encouraging answers to their petitions, and in 1688 landed in England. A revolution, without violence, immediately ensued, and William was proclaimed King. James fled with his family to France, where both he and his wife were received with the utmost cordiality. Louis provided generously for their wants, and, what in our day might seem almost a mockery, presented the exiled Queen with a splendid set of jewels. Madame de Sévigné speaks in rapturous terms of their reception, and says, "Is it not divine, to support a king exiled, betrayed, and abandoned?"

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was

followed by rigorous enactments. Claude, the distinguished minister, was obliged to leave Charenton, a place particularly obnoxious, and was ignominiously conducted to Brussels. All the ministers were required to quit Paris in forty-eight hours, on pain of severe penalties. That there were many abjurations of Protestantism at this crisis, we can hardly doubt, and that fathers and husbands might, in many instances, submit at last, rather than fly from their families and homes; it is said, however, that these instances were rare. The French nation, in banishing a virtuous portion of their citizens, committed a political blunder, which they afterwards tried to amend by a greater degree of cruelty, that of forbidding the emigration of the Protestants. The expulsion of the ministers occasioned the emigration of their people, and whole parishes in Languedoc followed their pastors. The Court took the alarm, and endeavoured to prevent this result. All who were discovered emigrating were arrested, and condemned to prison. To the dungeons of Touraine alone seven hundred were committed. The ingenuity of the Protestants, however, assisted them in escaping from France, and not a few accomplished their purpose. Many succeeded in reaching England, and Holland, and the Protestant States of Germany. Others, less fortunate, after leaving the shores of France,

were made prisoners by corsairs, and endured years of slavery in Africa. Some were thrown upon the coast of Spain, and received their welcome from the Spanish Inquisition.

There was one obscure corner of the world settled by men, who, like the Huguenots, had fled from persecution ; and it was natural, that many should turn their eyes to this spot. We have before mentioned, that Admiral Coligni united with the French Protestants at Geneva in settling a colony in Brazil, which failed through the perfidy of Villegagnon, to whom the enterprise was committed. In 1562 he again projected the establishment of a colony on the Western Continent, and, with the permission of Charles the Ninth, sent over a small number of Protestants to Florida, under Jean Ribault. They entered Port Royal, and built a fort near, which they called Fort Charles, but soon abandoned it, and returned to France. In 1564 and 1565 Coligni made another attempt to effect a settlement in Florida, at St. Augustine, but the colonists were all massacred.

What this great and good man could not accomplish by a widely extended philanthropy, was finally effected by persecution. Hitherto we have been treading foreign shores, and plodding our way amidst civil wars and despotism. But we now turn to our own home, to the

green valleys and wooded hills of New England.

It is supposed, that within a short time eight hundred thousand Protestants quitted the kingdom of France, and sought an asylum in foreign lands, among strangers. There had been at different times too many indications of hostility not to render them eager to secure a place of refuge when forced by extremity. In 1662, "John Touton, a French Doctor, and an inhabitant of Rochelle, made application to the Court of Massachusetts, in behalf of himself and other Protestants expelled from their habitations on account of their religion, that they might have liberty granted them to come to New England." This was readily accorded. It does not appear, that they took advantage of the permission for twenty years, but, upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, they again applied.

There is a letter extant, discovered among some miscellaneous papers belonging to the Historical Society of Massachusetts, from French Protestants, giving an account of their distressed situation, declaring the purpose of many of them to come to America, asking what advantages they could have for agriculture, particularly the "*boors*," and recommending that a ship should be sent to transport them, as a profitable adventure.

No record is found of any ship having been sent for such a purpose, but it appears evident, that means were furnished them by some of the most influential characters in New England. We come now to a distinct record of the first settlement of the Huguenots in Massachusetts.

Soon after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the General Court of Massachusetts granted a tract of land, eight miles square, to Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, and Major Robert Thompson. This tract was in the Nipmug country, so called by the Indians.

The petition for this grant was undoubtedly made with a view to the Huguenots, as the proprietors invited thirty French Protestants to come over and settle on this spot, setting apart between eleven and twelve thousand acres for a village for these families, called Oxford.

The French plantation is traced back to the year 1696. Gabriel Bernon was undertaker for this plantation. It appears, from imperfect records, that the Huguenots purchased, at least, some part of the land, at a low rate. They began the cultivation of it with great industry and vigor, and were in a prosperous condition. One of their first acts was to settle a French Protestant minister. Private records state, that they gave him forty pounds, and increased his salary from year to year, which proves that their situation

was a prosperous one. They must have suffered much from a fear of the Indians, who were constantly prowling about the place with stealthy step, and, like the ghosts of the departed, hovering round the land they considered rightfully their own. To protect themselves, the French built a fort, of which traces still remain. That their fears were not imaginary, the massacre of a Mr. Johnson and his three children, by the savages, is a melancholy proof. Notwithstanding the terrors which surrounded them, they did not leave the place they had planted, till this event occurred, and probably then with deep regret ; again they were to go forth, wanderers to an unknown spot, to begin anew their associations and homes. They repaired to Boston, encouraged, probably, by the thought that there they should be at least protected from the tomahawk of the savage, and the ferocious fangs of wild beasts.

The murder of Mr. Johnson and his three children is often alluded to in the few ancient records which remain of Oxford, but we do not find many particulars of this melancholy deed.\*

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\* We have not given the particulars of what has been discovered of the Huguenot settlement in Oxford, because it has been done so fully by Dr. Holmes, in his "Memoir of the French Protestants." We quote from that work "Mrs. Butler's reminiscences" of the murder of the Johnson family.

"The refugees left France in 1684, or 1685. The



The narration of John Mayo, given when he was eighty-one years of age, is perhaps the most graphic. His grandfather purchased land of Gabriel Bernon, and afterwards transferred it by deed to his son, from whom it descended to John. He says, "The fort of the French was near my house, it enclosed about a quarter of an acre, and was *about square*. There was a very considerable house, with a cellar, well, &c., within the fort. . . . . There was a garden outside the fort, on the west, containing asparagus, grapes, plums, cherries, and a bed of gooseberries. There were, probably, more than ten acres cultivated round the fort. Some of the apple-

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great-grandfather of Mrs. Butler, Mr. Germaine, gave the family notice that they *must go*. They came off with secrecy, with whatever clothes they could put upon the children, and *left the pot boiling over the fire*. They arrived at Boston, and went directly to Fort Hill, where they were provided for, and entertained there till they went to Oxford (near Worcester).

"Mrs. Johnson, the wife of Mr. Johnson, who was killed by the Indians in 1696, was a sister of Andrew Sigourney, one of the first Huguenots who came over. Mr. Johnson, returning from Woodstock, while the Indians were massacring his family, was shot down at his own door. Mr. Sigourney, hearing the report of guns, ran to the house, and, seizing his sister, rescued her by a back door, and took her to French River, which they waded through, and reached the garrison at Woodstock. The children were all murdered:"

trees and pear-trees are still standing, also the currant-bushes and cinnamon-rose bushes, asparagus, &c.

“Johnson kept tavern, when he was killed by the Indians. Upon the murder of Johnson, the French dispersed.”

We cannot but feel deep sympathy with the Huguenots, driven from the home they had adopted, surrounded by the works of their own hands, the mute though eloquent witnesses of their industry, perseverance, and taste, which they must leave behind, just as they were beginning to sit under the shadow of the trees they had planted. But the properties of their character they could carry with them. Wherever they go, we find them triumphing over the most unfavorable circumstances, and making “the wilderness to blossom like the rose.” Nor can we be surprised, that men, who could sacrifice all for the worship of God and a strict adherence to the truth, who would make no compromise with conscience for the quiet possession of their native homes, who could leave the sweet valleys and vine-covered hills of France for the howling wilderness, were sustained by principles so elevated; they were led “by a pillar of fire by night,” and concealed from their enemies “by the cloud by day.” It is no figure of poetry to

say, *the howling wilderness* ; for, in the manuscript of John Mayo before quoted, we find it narrated ; “ I have heard Joseph Rockwood, who served in the fort, tell of his having got lost one night, while out for the cows ; he first heard at a distance the cries of wild beasts, ascended a tree for safety, and was surrounded during the night by half-famished and howling wolves.”

A still more interesting story is told of a woman, who set out on horseback to visit a friend several miles distant. The roads were bad, and her horse became lame ; darkness gathered round while she was in the thickest part of the wood, and, to add to her dismay, her ears were now assailed by the howling of wolves. To escape them seemed impossible, as she could no longer discern the narrow path ; she, however, urged her horse forward, and he, impelled by the instinct which fear gives, bore her rapidly along. But her pursuers, who now scented their prey, gained upon her, and at length arrived so near as to bite the heels of the horse. The sudden spring he gave threw his rider to the ground. Not stopping for the smaller prey, they pursued the horse, and the woman was dexterous enough to climb a high tree, and gain a seat among the branches, believing herself secure. In a short time, however, she heard the cries and tramp of the hungry wolves returning, who she at once

concluded had missed their prey, and were in pursuit of her. So it appeared ; they soon gathered round the tree, and began to gnaw at its roots ; and the dawn of day found them still perseveringly at work. The horror of her mind in view of her perilous situation can scarcely be imagined ; nor the transition from despair to joy when at length she heard the shouts of human voices. The wolves (there were three in number) immediately fled, and she hailed her husband and neighbours. The story of her deliverance was shortly told. The horse had continued his rapid flight, outstripped his pursuers, and arrived home. The family, as soon as they discovered his return with his empty saddle, went in quest of her.

From their forest homes, where they had suffered so severely from the murderous assaults of the savages, more fierce than wild beasts, we now behold the Huguenots repairing to Boston, where vestiges long remained of their industry and agricultural taste. Reminiscences of their care and skill in the cultivation of their gardens, and of their introduction of fine fruit, are still preserved among the inhabitants. Many of the pears retain their French names, but those of others are so Anglicized as scarcely to be recognisable.\* While at Oxford, they had a French

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\* A friend, who is now no more, the honored and re-

Protestant minister, and after they came to Boston a church also of their own. Mr. Daillé\* was their pastor. A Mr. Lawrie is also mentioned in the History of Boston, as a French Protestant minister, but it is not known whether he preceded Mr. Daillé at Oxford or not. The congregation first assembled, in Boston, in a large schoolhouse. In 1704, eight years after they left Oxford, a piece of ground was purchased (we give the words of the original deed) "to erect a church upon, for the use of the French congregation in Boston, to meet therein for the worship and service of Almighty God, according to the way and manner of the reformed churches in France."

It is a remarkable circumstance, that this church was afterwards occupied by the French Catholics, who fled to this country in the beginning of the Revolution, long after the Protestants had ceased to use it; and it is pleasant to remember, that both of these sects, so cruelly opposed to each other in their mother-country, found successively in ours the same temple, where they might worship God "in the beauty of holi-

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gretted Daniel Sargent, Esq., told me, he perfectly recollected fine gardens pointed out to him, when a boy, as having belonged to the Huguenots.

\* In 1714, March 13th, Mr. Daillé was *published* to the daughter of Daniel Epes, of Salem.

ness." This circumstance affords also a striking illustration of the vanity of all human standards of religious opinion. Both sects were persecuted for the doctrines they held sacred. There is still another interesting fact connected with this consecrated spot ; when the French church had fallen into disuse in consequence of the erection of a Catholic church, to which the people of Boston largely contributed, a *Universalist* church was built on its site. How many fine illustrations must this fact afford to their preachers, who make broad the path to heaven ! \*

In adverting to the French Catholics in Boston, we must not omit some mention of Bishop Cheverus. He was truly a reformer among his people. Compelled to quit his country, he, happily for all who were to be within his influence, fixed his residence in Boston. With a zeal tempered by prudence, and a faith enlightened by the philanthropy of his own character, he diffused around him the genuine spirit of virtue. Who, that was admitted to his friendship, will not honor a religion which produced such fruits ? Who, that has seen him administering moral advice and consolation to persons of all denominations, will not acknowledge

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\* In the Appendix to the Memoir of the French Protestants, by Abiel Holmes, D. D., will be found a history of this church.

the influence he exerted even over Protestants? Learned as a scholar, abstemious as a philosopher, dignified and courteous as a gentleman, indefatigable as a friend, and uniting to faith, hope, and charity, a zeal never obtrusive or immoderate, but which carried him through every obstacle, to serve not only those of his own faith, but those who merely claimed the same universal Father, — all ranks, all sects, accorded him their most sincere affection and respect, — a meed as rare as it was honorable alike to the man and to the community. Under his watchful care the Catholic church flourished, not by making new converts, but by gathering into its bosom its wandering children from various parts of the world.\* To the same church he has bequeathed

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\* One or two familiar anecdotes of this excellent man I would fain record. I was residing in the country. While there he called to see me, on a cold December morning; it was one of those bitter days, when the air is filled with particles of snow and ice. The wind was high, and scarcely any one would have encountered the severity of the weather, but from motives of duty or necessity. He told me he should take the stage-coach for Boston in an hour. I delivered him a message from an old friend, a widowed woman (not a Catholic), saying, how much it would comfort her to see him.

“How far off is she?” said he.

“Seven miles,” I replied.

He said, after a moment’s hesitation, “I will not go to

his blessing and good name, and to his Protestant friends, who remain, recollections which will always consecrate his memory.

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Boston to-day, I will go and see her ; I can easily accomplish the walk this morning, and return before night." With his staff in his hand he set forward, not as a Catholic or a Huguenot, but as a minister of God to give comfort to the sorrowful.

At another time, an emigrant French lady was relating her sufferings in her own country. She had seen some of her nearest friends guillotined. In the midst of her narrative, some happy, thoughtless children, who were playing round her, gave a shout of gayety ; she stopped, and her tears fell. " Ah, my dear lady," said Bishop Cheverus, with a gentle smile, " it is only children and maniacs who do not feel the horrors of the French Revolution." When Archbishop of Bordeaux it is well known how often he sighed to return to his beloved flock in Boston, and share their toils and privations.



## CHAPTER XXIX.

## FURTHER RECORDS OF THE HUGUENOTS IN AMERICA.

IN the reign of James the Second, collections were made in England for the refugees who sought an asylum there ; and in William's reign fifteen thousand pounds were voted by Parliament, "to be distributed among persons of quality, and all such as, through age or infirmity, were unable to support themselves."

The English, who at that period had a parental feeling for their young colonies, encouraged the Huguenots to migrate to America, particularly cultivators of land, of which they possessed here such an abundant extent. The names of many who arrived in this country may be obtained. One hundred and seventy families, besides single individuals, settled in South Carolina, and a large portion of them on the south side of the Santee river, where they laid out a town, to which they gave the name of "Jamestown." Others fixed their residence in Charleston and its vicinity. There was a settlement of them in Berkeley county, which they called the Orange

Quarter, and afterwards the Parish of St. Dennis. A few families settled at St. John's, Berkeley.

The Huguenots purchased lands ; and it is evident, from all the traditions handed down to us, that they were a moral, industrious, and ingenious people, desirous of conforming to the habits of those who received them kindly.

It is greatly to be regretted, that the modern passion for *journalizing* did not take hold of a few ; we might have gained most interesting facts from private memoirs. We fear, too, that many wrongs might mingle with their statements. The first year we do not learn that there were any heart-burnings ; but, when the Huguenots began very naturally to claim the rights and privileges of citizens, they found great opposition from the sturdy possessors. In 1691 Governor Ludlow had instructions from Great Britain to allow them all the rights and privileges of English settlers, and six representatives in the Assembly of the Province. The kindness that the possessors of the country had voluntarily shown them, seems now to have ceased. The refugees no longer sued for patronage, they were to be placed on an equality with the old inhabitants. The English and French have always found it hard to assimilate ; their national antipathies and prejudices revived, and they were offended that foreigners and aliens should claim the right of sitting as

jurors or voting at elections ; and they contended that these disabilities could only be removed by an act of naturalization.

A greater wrong, however, was exercised towards them, which ought to excite indulgence for the measures of their Catholic countrymen. It was generally declared, that the marriages performed by their ministers were not legal, and the children of those marriages were pronounced *illegitimate*. They appealed to the British through Governor Ludlow, and received a favorable answer, installing them in the full rights of citizens. But what kingly power can control the minds and tempers of men ? A greater degree of opposition arose ; the scornful glance, the unkind avoidance, and sometimes the irritating jest, were not wanting. The Huguenots were not allowed to send a representative at the next election, and the English settlers addressed a remonstrance to the Governor on the assumption of the foreigners. Knots of discontented politicians were seen gathering in groups, inflaming their own and others' minds by fancied wrongs.

In 1694-5 Governor Archdale arrived from England. He was a proprietor of land, and was deputed to come to Carolina to settle various difficulties in the Province. Such was the state of public feeling, that he decided it to be necessary for preserving peace, that the Huguenots

be excluded from all legislative concerns. This same Governor, who was Lord Archdale, and belonged to the Society of Friends, was reputed to be a man of piety, humanity, and intelligence. Though he remained in Carolina eighteen months, he appears to have accomplished but little towards settling the differences between the French and English, and he returned to England with gloomy accounts of the animosity which prevailed. At length, however, an act was passed for the benefit of the refugees, entitled "An act for making aliens free of this part of the Province," &c.

It is supposed, that very early four French congregations were formed in this colony, namely, at Jamestown (Santee), Orange Quarter, St. John's (Berkeley), and Charleston. They professed the doctrines, and worshipped according to the forms, of the church of Geneva. Subsequently, however, on the passage of the act of Assembly, in 1706, called the Church Act, by which the Church of England gained a legal establishment in the Colony, three of these congregations, conforming to the new order of things, became Episcopalian. The settlement at Orange Quarter, being too poor to support a minister, made application to the Colonial Assembly to be created a parish, with an allowance from the public treasury for the maintenance of a rector, episcopally ordained, who should use the Liturgy of

the Church of England, in Dr. Durel's translation, and preach to them in French. An application of a similar nature was made by the congregation in Santee. These petitions were favorably received, and the two settlements were incorporated as parishes, — the former by the name of St. Dennis, and the latter by that of St. James', Santee. Mr. St. Pierre <sup>was</sup> the minister of the church of St. Dennis, which was built about the year 1708. Mr. Philip de Richbourg was the first rector of the incorporated church of St. James', Santee. He died in 1717. The congregation at St. John's, Berkeley, likewise adopted the Episcopal worship and discipline. The French church in Charleston maintained its original distinctive features. Its founder was the Rev. Elias Prioleau, a descendant of the Prioli family, which, in 1618, gave a Doge to Venice.

This band of Huguenot brothers was a great acquisition to the infant colony of South Carolina. They were before the English in many of the arts, and better understood the cultivation of land. No testimony can be more honorable to them than the effect which their own conduct produced, while their marriages, solemnized by their own ministers, were declared illegal, and themselves pronounced aliens. Under this sore injury, for they had purchased their lands with a promise of the most entire freedom of religious

and civil toleration, they preserved a peaceable and quiet demeanor, returning good for evil.

We have seen that they finally obtained an act establishing their legal rights, and in the course of a few years the antipathy of the English melted away ; intermarriages took place, and the most perfect harmony existed between them and the French refugees. Indeed, so complete has been the amalgamation, that the distinctive appellation of Huguenot is almost lost.

Many illustrious names might be mentioned, that stand recorded in the annals of South Carolina ; that of Gabriel Manigault ought not to be omitted. He early saw the evils of slavery, and felt its embarrassment, refusing to traffic in human life, or to transfer from their native land this unfortunate race. His own slaves he treated with uniform kindness.

In connexion with the name of Manigault we have thought it might be gratifying to see a letter written by Judith Manigault, which we have extracted from Ramsay's "History of South Carolina," as particularly applicable to our subject. It was written in French, as probably all their communications were ; this may be the reason why more documents have not been preserved. This lady when about twenty years old embarked for Carolina, by the way of London, in 1625. After her arrival she wrote to her brother, giving an

account of her adventures. The letter is thus translated.

“ Since you desire it, I will give you an account of our quitting France, and of our arrival in Carolina. During eight months we had suffered from the contributions and the quartering of the soldiers, with many other inconveniences. We therefore resolved on quitting France by night, leaving the soldiers in their beds, and abandoning the house with its furniture. We contrived to hide ourselves at Romans, in Dauphiny, for ten days, while a search was made after us ; but our hostess, being faithful, did not betray us, when questioned if she had seen us. Thence we passed to Lyons, and thence to Dijon, from which place, as well as from Langres, my eldest brother wrote to you ; but I know not if either of the letters reached you. He informed you that we were quitting France. He went to Madame de Choiseul’s, which was of no avail as she was dead, and her son-in-law had the command of every thing ; moreover, he gave us to understand, that he perceived our intention of escaping from France, and, if we asked any favors from him, he would inform against us. We therefore made the best of our way for Metz, in Lorraine, where we embarked on the river Moselle, in order to go to Treves,

thence we passed to Coblentz, and thence to Cologne, where we quitted the Rhine to go by land to Wesel, where we met with an host who spoke a little French, and who informed us we were only thirty leagues from Lunenburg. We knew that you were in winter quarters there by a letter of yours received fifteen days before our departure from France, which mentioned that you would winter there. Our deceased mother and myself besought my eldest brother to go that way with us ; or, leaving us with her, to pay you a visit alone. It was in the depth of winter ; but he would not hear of it, having Carolina so much in his head, that he dreaded losing any opportunity of going thither. O what grief, losing this opportunity of seeing you at least once more has caused me ! How have I regretted seeing a brother show so little feeling, and how often have I reproached him with it ; but he was our master and we were compelled to obey. We passed to Holland, to go thence to England. I do not know exactly the year, whether '84, or '85, but it was that in which King Charles of England died (Feb. 1685). We remained in London three months, waiting for a passage to Carolina. Having embarked, we were sadly off ; the spotted fever made its appearance on board our vessel, of which disease many died, and among them our aged mother. Nine months elapsed before



our arrival in Carolina. We touched at two ports, one a Portuguese, and the other an Island, called Bermuda, belonging to the English, to refit our vessel, which had been much injured in a storm. Our Captain, having committed some misdemeanor, was put in prison, and the vessel seized. Our money was all spent, and it was with great difficulty we procured a passage in another vessel. After our arrival in Carolina we suffered every kind of evil. In about eighteen months our elder brother, unaccustomed to the hard labor we were obliged to undergo, died of a fever. Since leaving France we had experienced every kind of affliction, disease, pestilence, famine, poverty, hard labor. I have been for six months together without tasting bread, working the ground like a slave ; and I have even passed three or four years without always having it when I wanted it. God has done great things for us in enabling us to bear up under so many trials. I should never have done, were I to attempt to detail to you all our adventures. Let it suffice, that God has had compassion on me, and changed my fate to a happy one, for which glory be unto him."

The writer of this letter was the mother of Gabriel Manigault, before alluded to, who, during the revolution, by his great prosperity, was en-

abled to lend to the asylum of his persecuted parents two hundred and twenty thousand dollars, for aiding its struggle for independence.

We have taken pleasure in copying this letter, as it is almost the only one preserved. Many of the same nature, probably recounting even greater hardships and sufferings, were sent to France from the unfortunate exiles. But those were happy who succeeded in escaping from their native land. The misery of many, who made the attempt and were arrested, can hardly be surpassed. "Three of the nine Presidents of the old Congress which conducted the United States through the revolutionary war, were descendants of French Protestant refugees, who had migrated to America in consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The persons alluded to were Henry Laurens, of South Carolina ; John Jay, of New York ; and Elias Boudinot, of New Jersey." \*

The ancestors of General Francis Marion, who distinguished himself in the American army during the revolutionary war, were Huguenots. They came to America on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and settled on Cooper river, near Charleston, but his father removed to Georgia. The officers, who encountered the various hard-

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\* Ramsay's "History of South Carolina."

ships of our Revolution, ought never to be forgotten. A high character is given of Marion by General Lee. There is a manuscript, containing a long list of names, from which many an honorable member of society might select his own.\*

The Huger family, of Charleston, are well known as descendants of the Huguenots. One of this family was deeply engaged in attempting to accomplish the escape of Lafayette from Olmutz.†

In the year 1709, Mr. John Lawson published "A Journal of a Thousand Miles travelled through several Nations of the Indians." From the manuscript before alluded to we make some extracts, which will probably be new to the northern part of the country, and which are pleasant for their quaintness and simplicity, and the honorable testimony given to the first Huguenots who came there.

"The first place," he writes, "we designed for was Santee river, where there is a colony of French Protestants allowed and encouraged by

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\* See a list of names of Huguenots, at the end of the book.

† There is a letter from Mr. de Bollman, describing this attempt, which unfortunately failed in its execution "Nobody has been implicated in it," he says, "not one person in all Germany knowing about it, except the brave and excellent Huger of America."

the lords proprietors." After giving an account of his voyage from Charleston, through the inland passage to Santee river, which occupied a week, he adds, "As we rowed up the river we found the land towards the mouth, and for about sixteen miles up it, scarce any thing but swamp, affording vast cypress trees of which the French make canoes, that will carry fifty or sixty barrels." Then follows a description of the large cypress canoes, probably first invented by the French settlers. He then proceeds, "There being a strong current in Santee river, caused us to make but small way with our oars. With hard rowing we got that night to Monsieur Eugée's [Huger] house, which stands about fifteen miles up the river, being the first Christian dwelling we met with in that settlement, and were very courteously received by him and his wife. Many of the French follow a trade with the Indians, living very conveniently for that interest. There are about seventy families seated on this river, who live as decently and happily as any planters in these southward parts of America. The French being a temperate, industrious people, some of them bringing very little of effects, yet, by their endeavours and mutual assistance amongst themselves, which is highly to be commended, have outstripped our English, who brought with them large fortunes, though, as it seems, less endeavour to manage their talent to the best advantage."

“ We lay all night at Monsieur Eugée’s [Huger, the first settler of this family], and the next morning set out further to go the remainder of our journey by land. At noon we came up with several French plantations, meeting with several Creeks by the way. The French were very officious in assisting with small dories to pass over the waters, whom we met coming from their church, being all of them clean and decent, their houses and plantations suitable in neatness and contrivance. They are all of the same opinion of the church of Geneva ; there being no difference amongst them concerning the punctilios of their Christian faith, which union hath propagated a happy and delightful concord, and in all other matters throughout the whole neighbourhood ; living amongst themselves as one tribe or kindred, every one making it his business to be assistant to the wants of his countrymen ; preserving his estate and reputation with the same exactness and concern as he does his own ; all seeming to share in the misfortunes and rejoice at the advancement and rise of their brethren.”

“ Towards the afternoon we came to Monsieur L. Jandron (Gendron), where we got our dinners. There came some French ladies whilst we were there, lately from England, and Monsieur L. Grand, a worthy Norman, who hath been a great sufferer in his estate by the persecution in France against those of the Protestant religion.

This gentleman invited us very kindly to make our stay with him all night, but we, being bound further that day, took our leave, returning acknowledgment of all favors." "About four in the afternoon we passed over a large cypress run in a small canoe. The French doctor sent his negro to guide us over the head of a large swamp, so that we got that night to Monsieur Gailliar's [Gailliard] the elder; who lives in a very curious contrived house, built of brick and stone, which is gotten near that place. Near here comes in the road from Charlestown, and the rest of the English settlement, it being a very good way by land, and not above thirty-six miles, although more than a hundred by water; and I think the most difficult way I ever saw, occasioned by reason of the multitude of creeks lying along the main, keeping their course through the marshes, turning and winding like a labyrinth, having the tide of ebb and flood twenty times in less than three leagues going." He then describes a freshet in the Santee, representing the adjacent "woods to seem like some great lake, except here and there a knoll of high land which appears above water."

"We intended for Monsieur Galliar's, Jr., but were lost, none of us knowing the way at that time, although the Indian with us was born in that country, it having received so strange a

metamorphosis. When we got to the house we found our comrades (who had been accidentally separated), and several of the French inhabitants with them, who treated us very courteously, wondering at our undertaking such a voyage through a country inhabited by savages of different nations and tongues. After having refreshed ourselves, we parted from a very kind, loving, and affable people, who wished us a safe and prosperous voyage."

Nothing can be more interesting than the contrast which the present cultivated situation of the country affords with the past. We see towns and cities springing up where no traces of the human foot could be found. Were it only to cherish feelings of gratitude to our ancestors, who first explored the wilderness, and have given to their successors pleasant and peaceful homes, we might patiently search into mouldy records, and spell out the history of by-gone days.

It is much to be regretted, that we have not more such private journals and notices kept by the Huguenots. If such there were, probably they may have been transmitted to their own country, forming a most interesting detail for collateral branches of the families, in their native language.

We may naturally conclude, that the acquisition of lands was among the inducements of the

refugees to come to this country. They generally bought lands, and some of them had means of purchasing large tracts, which they portioned out and sold low to their distressed brethren. We do not hear of any instance of oppression among them, either exercised towards each other or Americans. In South Carolina they very generally adopted the Episcopal mode of worship. The French Calvinistic church in Charleston adhered to its peculiar worship. It was built about 1693. The time of worship was regulated by the *tide*, for the accommodation of the members, who, many of them, came by the river from the settlements round. We can hardly imagine any thing more picturesque than these little boats, borne on the water and filled with noble and daring beings, who had endured danger and suffering, and risked their lives, for the spiritual life of the soul. Often the low chant was distinguished amidst the dashing of the oars, and sometimes an enthusiastic strain swelled on the ear, like those which proceeded from the lips of the martyrs when the flames curled around them.

It is surprising that so little of rash enthusiasm marked the conduct of the French refugees in this country ; theirs was evidently a religion founded on principle. We hear of no fanatical preachers amongst them, no soothsayers or prophets ; the flame burnt bright and steady ; it



lighted them on the pathless ocean amidst toil and privation, and warmed them amidst the rigors of our climate. They seem to have been free from all exaggeration. Their memorials to government are simple and concise, and bear every evidence of truth. When they are obliged to petition for rights, it is done in a calm, conciliatory manner, and with no language or statements calculated to inflame. This is the more extraordinary, from the impetuous constitution of Frenchmen, and the keen sense of wrongs they had endured in their own country. This character of forbearance, of integrity, and perseverance, marks them wherever they settled, in the cold regions of the North or the milder climate of the South. How fully is one truth illustrated, that a sense of duty is the real principle of greatness, makes all men act consistently, however separated by country or circumstances, and gives that energy to the mind which enables it to bear hardships and withstand temptations. Who does not feel that there is more to be revered in the exiled Huguenot, who has forsaken all from the highest sense of duty, who has uniformly placed his confidence in God under the severest trials, who, when wronged, has forgiven the oppressor ; and, undismayed, has pressed forward to an immortal inheritance ; — who does not feel, that he is more an object of reverence than the mighty monarch who exiled him ?

It is those in whom the power of virtue is formed and matured, that are truly great. It matters not how many millions a man may command, the next day may strip him of all ; but the *undying principle* of duty is his own, and can only be surrendered by his will. The history of the Huguenots would be an enigma without this key to human power ; but he, who feels this undying principle, cannot be trodden under foot, for he holds fast the inward consciousness of his own worth, which supports him under every oppression, and makes him strong to endure,—a strength derived from genuine piety, and the deep sense of Christianity enjoined by its author.

From a collection of all the Laws of Virginia published by W. W. Hening, from the first session of the Legislature, we find, during the reign of William the Third, an act, recorded in December, 1700, making the French refugees inhabiting the Manakin town, (Virginia) and the parts adjacent, a distinct parish by themselves.

“Whereas a considerable number of French Protestant refugees have been lately imported into this his Majesty’s colony and dominion, severall of which refugees have seated themselves above the falls of James river, at, or near to, a place commonly called and known by the name of the Manakin towne, for the encouragement of the said refugees to settle and remaine together as near as may be to the said Manakin towne,

“ Bee it enacted by the governour, councell, and burgesses of this present generall assembly, and it is hereby enacted, That the said refugees inhabiting at the said Manakin towne and the parts adjacent, shall be accounted and taken for inhabitants of a distinct parish by themselves ; and the land which they now do or shall hereafter possess at or adjacent to the said Manakin towne, shall be and is hereby declared to be a parish of itselfe, distinct from any other parish, to be called and knowne by the name of King William’s parish in the county of Henrico, and not lyable to the payment of parish levies in any other parish whatsoever.

“ And bee it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That such and so many of the said refugees as are already settled, or shall hereafter settle themselves, as inhabitants of the said parish at the Manakin towne and the parts adjacent, shall themselves and their familyes and every one of them be free and exempted from the payment of publick and county levies for the space of seven years next ensuing from the publication of this act, any law, statute, custome, or usage, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.”

It would seem that their rights were fully protected by this act, and we feel a degree of pleasure in viewing even a small part of this persecuted people thus happily situated. Here,

with their pastor, Philip de Richbourg, we may suppose they had found the tranquillity they were seeking. Their little dwellings were scattered on the banks of James River, even to the vicinity of Richmond, covered by the grape-vine and wild honeysuckle ; and some of their countrymen, who, escaping from the northern climate and east winds of New England, had joined them, found in Virginia one far more resembling the South of France.

In viewing the refugees, we are apt to lose sight of the peculiar circumstances under which they fled to this country ; — whole families together, women tenderly educated, and unaccustomed to hardship, men of refined and cultivated minds. The very fact, that they came for the right of conscience, bespeaks their moral history. Some few were able to secure a portion of their wealth, others escaped with only their lives ; but they all brought with them imperishable virtue, and those accomplishments and mental acquisitions which they had gained in polished society. They could appreciate the wild and romantic character of our country, then literally a new world, and, by the culture of the old, soften its rugged features. Perhaps there never was a race that had more fully pledged themselves to high and generous deeds. Why should they now relinquish one honorable trait of character, when

by a *slight* compromise of integrity, by a *moderate* degree of dissimulation, they might have remained in the sunny glades of their childhood, beneath their own roof-tree, and many of them in the splendid halls of their ancestors. Well might they expect to find legal protection in every Protestant country, and we rejoice that they found it here. Yet it is evident that in Virginia, as well as further South, they had persecutions to endure.

In 1707, Philip de Richbourg felt compelled to address a petition to the Honorable Council for redress. The original document, in its ancient French, has been preserved, and from it the following translation is given.

“To the Honorable Colonel Jennings, President, and to the Honorable Council.

“We, the undersigners, in our own names, as well as in the names of the inhabitants of Manakin town, have been expressly chosen to represent to your Honor and to the Honorable Council, that we are extremely troubled to see dissensions in our parish, caused by some persons. We supplicate you to remedy them, and to restore order; and, as it has pleased the Honorable Council to designate us as a parish, we earnestly implore that it will still please the Honorable Council to give us an order, either for Monsieur Colonel Randolph or some other per-

son, to assemble all the members of the said parish, who, according to their desire, will, by a plurality of voices, choose twelve persons who may adjust the differences according to the laws and statutes established in Virginia. It is true, that from the time of our arrival in this country, in order to preserve method and government among ourselves, M. Dejoux named three persons, and others nominated three more. After the death of M. Dejoux, six were added provisionally, without prejudicing the right of election. Now that our franchise is near expiring,\* we can make a much better choice, knowing each other much better than we did at the time. There are, nevertheless, some who wish to establish themselves in this office without the consent of the parishioners, who are opposed to it, and who believe, that, in conformity to the customs of the new churches which have been formed in Europe and elsewhere, they ought to have the choice and nomination of the most honorable persons among themselves, when they conform to the laws and have adopted them for life.

“We, therefore, most earnestly petition that it will please the Honorable Council to grant to our parish that which they demand, as they know

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\* Alluding to the act which allowed them exemption from levies for seven years.

that there are some persons, and particularly Abraham Salls, who are the cause of the difficulties in the said parish, for more than three years, in such a manner that some of the members have felt obliged to relinquish every thing rather than dwell in contention. God knows how much we have suffered, and if the Honorable Council could realize the oppression we endure, and the very irregular conduct of M. Salls, of which we have already made complaint to the Council in May, 1704, without doubt they would pay attention to it. This is what we petition, and for which we will pray God all our lives, for the prosperity of the Council, and the members who compose it.

“ 19th April, 1707.

“ C. Philipps de Richbourg, *Minister*.

“ Jaques Lacaze.

“ Estienne Chastain.

“ Antoine Rapine.”

In consequence of this remonstrance, another act was passed, 1707, declaring, that “ The said refugees, inhabiting the Manakin town and the parts adjacent, shall be accounted and taken for inhabitants of a distinct parish by themselves,” and known by the name of King William parish, in the county of Henrico, and “ not lyable to the payment of parish levys in any other parish whatsoever.”

It was also enacted, that they and their families should be free and "exempted from the payment of public and county levys until the twenty-fifth day of December, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eight.

"Provided always, and it is hereby enacted, and declared, that the allowance settled by a law, for a minister's maintenance, shall not be construed to extend to the minister of the said parish of King William, but that the inhabitants of the said parish are hereby intended to be left at their own liberty to agree with and pay their minister as their circumstances will admit."

There seems to be great sympathy for their unfortunate circumstances, in exempting them from public taxes, and by this act the exemption was prolonged another year, to 1708.

Those who now visit the beautiful State of Virginia can with difficulty realize what it might have been to exiles and foreigners at that early period. There is no part of America that abounds in more romantic and sublime scenery. The suburbs of Richmond present many interesting recollections. Not far from it is the spot where Pocahontas, the Indian princess, resided. She may be called the heroine of her race, and the line is perpetuated through many distinguished families, who boast of their Indian blood. The spot is still called after the name of her father,



Powhatan, the great warrior. It is now in possession of a private family, and is a well-cultivated farm, pleasantly situated on the banks of James River. They show you the memorable stone on which the head of the captive Smith was laid. The savages stood round with their clubs, ready to deal the fatal blow. Then was seen Pocahontas, in the bloom and grace of Indian beauty, rushing to the spot. She knelt beside the captive, and, to use the words of an historian, "clasped him in her arms, and laid her own head upon his, to save him from death." What father could resist such pleading? Powhatan consented that Smith should live to make him hatchets, and for his daughter bells, beads, and copper jewelry.

It is easy for the imagination to conjure up some of those images, which have often been represented on canvass;—the heroine with her beads, plumes, and wampum belt, with her glittering moccasins, and embroidered sandals;—her eyes first sparkling with indignation as she beholds the English captive bound for slaughter, then melting with pity as she lays her own head on his, to meet the first blow. Is it too much to say, that it is characteristic of the best part of woman's nature?

There are elm trees still standing here, the growth of centuries, and perhaps they were among the forest trees of the Indian King.

"Ye noble monarchs of this regal scene,  
Clad in your robes of nature's richest green ;  
How calm ye stand, your mighty arms extending,  
And your tall heads with clouds and azure blending !  
Will ye not speak, and let the ancient story  
Mingle its war-whoop shout with modern glory ?

When first before him stood the pale-faced man,  
Tell us how looked the mighty Powhatan.  
Ah ! little thought the warrior, as he spoke,  
His own proud race should bend beneath the yoke ;  
That those who owned the soil, would one day fly  
To western wilds, or, hunted, turn and die."

But little more than a hundred years had succeeded this event, when the Huguenots came to James River, and the region was peopled by French and English settlers. Yet still the Indian was hovering round, his mind inflamed with no *fancied* wrongs. He saw himself dispossessed of the lands of his fathers, and condemned to wander forth an outcast. The refugees sometimes shared the vengeance promiscuously hurled at the white man, whom they considered the enemy of their race.

## CHAPTER XXX.

RECORDS CONTINUED.—SKETCH OF A  
HUGUENOT IN AMERICA.

THE French settlers in New York were more numerous than in any other part of the Colonies. The Huguenots fled to the Netherlands by thousands after the St. Bartholomew massacre, and soon became amalgamated with the Dutch, who were at this period a great commercial people, and masters of the ocean. They had discovered that America was rich in furs ; and, early in the seventeenth century, formed an association, under the title of the Dutch West India Company, to trade with the Eastern coast of North America. This company held out to adventurers the most tempting inducements to embark upon the expedition, with the intention of settling a colony upon their lands, which extended from the waters of the Connecticut to the Delaware. This offer, which promised wealth and independence, was eagerly embraced, and several vessels freighted with colonists landed at New York. How must the Indians, who frequented the shores of the Hudson, have gazed upon these houses, which

spread their wings to catch the gale, securely moving through the pathless waters ! Perhaps there were venerable seers among the native possessors of the land, who read the future fate of the Indian nation in this strange appearance, who foretold, that these monsters of the deep would one day become lords of the wide domain. But imagination could hardly picture the story of their wrongs, or that they, who ranged fearlessly and free along the shores, whose glad shouts reëchoed from the Catskill mountains to the Palisades, should pass from the face of the earth, not a warrior left to raise the tomahawk in just vengeance, and not one wanderer of the tribe remaining to tell that such things had been.

The colonists took possession of what is now New York, and founded the city, which they called New Amsterdam. The first child born in New York was a daughter of George Rapaeligo, in 1625, a descendant of Huguenot ancestors, who had fled from the St. Bartholomew massacre. The French refugees soon began to emigrate to the country adjacent, and formed settlements at Staten Island, Long Island, New Rochelle, and many other parts of New York, as early as 1688. At this period their numbers were greatly increased by new arrivals from France. They had early built a church, which they now found much too small, and were allowed to purchase land for

a second one. In 1704 it was built upon a piece of ground situated in King Street, now Pine Street, where the Custom House stands. The church was called L'Eglise du St. Esprit. "It was here that, every Sabbath-day, the people assembled, for twenty miles round, from Long Island, Staten Island, New Rochelle, &c., for public worship. Every street near was filled with wagons as early as Saturday evening, and in them many passed the night, and ate their frugal Sunday repast, presenting a touching spectacle of purity and zeal." \*

Wherever the Huguenots settled they were among the most estimable citizens ; nor is it difficult to account for the high moral character they possessed. They were not adventurers in search of wealth, they were not men who fled their native country after having lost reputation and fortune ; but high hearts, fervent in zeal for religion, and resolved never to surrender their consciences to the imperious calls of government, or the vengeance of monarchs. Following the example of such men as Beza, Mornay-Duplessis, and numerous others, it is not surprising, that

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\* From a manuscript lecture delivered by Dr. King, in New York. The congregation worshipped in Pine Street until 1831 ; it then removed to the upper part of the city to an edifice built at the corner of Church and Franklin Streets.

those who remained steadfast in their faith through the severest persecution, should have preserved the virtues of integrity, perseverance, and faithfulness, which they possessed in happier times. We almost regret that they have mingled so entirely with the inhabitants of our land, as to lose their distinctive characters of French Huguenots ; even their names have in many instances become Anglicized, and the few records that remain are with difficulty gleaned from public and private memorials.

The short notice which we find in the "Life of John Jay," by his son, is valuable ; we are there told, that his family is of Poictou, in France, and that the branch to which he belonged removed to Rochelle. We quote a few sentences, interesting to the Huguenot in this country.

"Pursuant to an order passed in January, 1685, the Protestant church at Rochelle (France) was demolished. The ensuing summer a number of troops were marched into the city and quartered on the Protestant inhabitants, and these troops were soon followed by four companies of dragoons. The attempt made to convert or intimidate Mr. Jay (Pierre) proving fruitless, some of these dragoons were sent to his house to live and act at their discretion. I have not understood that they offered any personal insults to Mr. Jay or his family, but in other respects they

behaved as it was intended they should. Such a situation was intolerable, and Mr. Jay lost no time in relieving his family from it. He found means to withdraw them, together with some articles of furniture, secretly from the house, and succeeded in putting them on board a vessel which he had engaged for the purpose. They fortunately set sail without being discovered, and were safely landed at Plymouth, in England. He thought it advisable to remain behind, doubtless with the design to save what he could from the wreck of his fortune."

"It was not long before the absence of his family excited attention, and produced investigations. After some time he was arrested and committed to prison. Being closely connected with some influential Catholics, he was, by their interposition and good offices, set at liberty."

He was fortunate enough to escape to England in one of his own vessels, that arrived from Spain.

"As soon as Mr. Jay's departure was known, his estate in France was seized; and no part of it afterward came to the use of either himself or his children."

The interesting account which follows, of his son Augustus, we omit. The reflection, however, of Mr. John Jay, the subject of the Memoir, ought to be recorded with the history of the Huguenots.

“From what has been said, you will observe with pleasure and with gratitude, how kindly and how amply Providence was pleased to provide for the welfare of our ancestor, Augustus. Nor was his case a solitary or singular instance. The beneficent care of Heaven appears to have been evidently and remarkably extended to all those persecuted exiles. Strange as it may seem, I have never heard of one of them who asked or received alms ; nor have I any reason to suspect, much less to believe, that any of them came to this country in a destitute situation. The number of refugees who settled here was considerable. They did not disperse or settle in different parts of the country, but formed three societies or congregations ; one in the city of New York, another at the Paltz, and a third at a town which they purchased and called New Rochelle. At New Rochelle they built two churches, and lived in great tranquillity. None of them became rich, but they all lived comfortably.”

New Rochelle, which seems to have been the great location of the Huguenots in New York, is in the county of West Chester, situated near the shore of Long Island Sound, and overlooks the water. It is said, that they landed on Davenport's Neck, called Bauffet's Point. They came from England, where they had taken refuge on account of religious persecution, four years before



the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. They purchased of John Pell a tract of land, consisting of six thousand one hundred acres, and called it (New) Rochelle, after what had once been their strong-hold and beloved city, in France. That they turned with longing hearts to the homes from which they were exiled, we may well believe. One old man was said to be in the daily habit of wandering to the seashore, and, with his eyes fixed on the point of the compass where he supposed France to lie, to pour forth his morning prayers, and sing one of Marot's hymns. By degrees a few others joined him, and devoutly partook of his devotions, and to this unrecorded spot, this temple not built with hands, the little band occasionally repaired.

A small wooden church was first erected. The second Huguenot church was built of stone, but is no longer standing. While they were building the church every one was anxious to contribute something to its progress. Females assisted, by carrying mortar in their aprons, and stones in their hands. Their first minister was Mr. Bondet. Queen Anne made a donation of plate to the church. Previous to the erection of it, the strong men were in the habit of walking twenty-three miles on Saturday evening, which was the distance, by the road, from New Rochelle to New York, to attend the Sunday service.

at the old Church du St. Esprit, in Pine Street, returning on the Sabbath evening. In the rear of the present church at New Rochelle, is the old burial-place of the refugees. To their descendants this must be consecrated ground. New Rochelle at an early period was a place of some resort for the acquirement of the French language; for two generations it was preserved in its purity, but gradually assimilated with the English language.\*

A number of the Huguenots came to the Narragansett country, and pitched their tents in what was then a wilderness. They began immediately to cultivate the land, and called the settlement Frenchtown.† They planted an orchard near a spring, where they first sat down, of which there are now some remains on the farm at East Greenwich, lately belonging to Pardon Le Moine, Esq. (*Maury*, now called by the English), which still goes by the name of the French Orchard. In the war which began in 1689, between England and France, these emigrants were allowed to remain unmolested by complying with the conditions presented by the government. Moses Le

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\* The "Guide to New Rochelle," published in 1842, gives an interesting account of the settlement of the place, and its present advantages.

† It is still called by this name.

Moine was the first of the name who built a hut and settled on the spot ; then the Ayraults, in 1685. Mr. Lucas likewise came to this country and settled at Newport, Rhode Island. He hired an estate of Robert Gardner for his residence, brought with him a graft of the celebrated Gardner pear, and reared it in his garden. About the time the tree began to bear, Mr. Gardner took possession of his own estate, and, the pear remaining, it obtained the name of the Gardner pear, by which it still goes, instead of the Lucas pear. An elegant folio Bible, which belonged to Mr. Lucas, is now in the possession of some of his descendants in the neighbourhood.

Of Elias Neau, who came over to America, with his wife Susannah, and daughter Judith (Mrs. Robineau), and settled in New York, there are records, but not so authentic as could be desired, as they are now verbal. It is said, that he endured great persecution after the Edict of Nantes, was confined two years in the prisons of the Inquisition, was condemned for a period to the galleys, and finally made his escape with his wife and daughter. He was a philanthropist, and ready to share the wreck of his fortune with the destitute and suffering. From one of the descendants we have obtained a copy of a marriage contract now in his possession, between the

granddaughter of Elias Neau, Mary Robineau, and Daniel Ayrault. \*

We are told of valuable articles now in possession of the descendants. Bibles, secured by silver clasps and corners ; a diamond ring, and a curious silver spoon, constructed for travelling, with a handle that slides into it. These are testimonies of the affluence of their former situa-

\* Marriage contract. — “Saturday, the seventeenth day of April, 1703, we, the subscribers, Daniel Ayrault and Mary Robineau, do certify, in presence of the undersigned witnesses, that we are promised and do mutually engage to each other the faith of Holy Matrimony. And to that we engage all that we have and hope to have in this world, for the performance of our promise ; desiring that God Almighty will give his blessing on our design, which is for his glory and the edification of our neighbours. Wherefore we are determined to consummate our marriage as soon as possible according to the order of holy discipline, and to be published the first time to-morrow, in our church, according to custom, that all the congregation may be witnesses of the promise which we have made in the presence of Elias Neau, Mary Paré, Judith Robineau, the mother and daughter, Susannah Neau, and Ezekiel Graziellieu, the day and year above written.

Signed and sealed in our	}	Daniel Ayrault, (Seal.)
presence,		Marie Robineau, (Seal.)

Elias Neau,	}	Sunday the ninth of May, 1703, the said marriage was consummated by Mr. Peret, minister of New York.”
Judith Robineau,		
Ezekiel Graziellieu.		

The original, from which this is copied, is written on parchment.

tion. Nor can we doubt that many of them quitted the elegances and refinements of life to worship God in the temples of the wilderness.

The name of Ayrault was of great respectability in Newport, Rhode Island, where the family of Stephen Ayrault lived, and exercised a liberal hospitality. Pierre Ayrault, the ancestor of Stephen Ayrault, was a native of Angers, in Anjou, where he held several public offices. Frances, the last of the name, married, and went to England. This family "garnered up" a gold whistle, brought out with them from France.

Gabriel Tourtellot was also a refugee. He was born in Bordeaux, and came to this country in company with Gabriel Bernon, whose daughter Marie he married. He died at sea. Several very respectable families in Rhode Island are descended from this gentleman.

The Rev. Dr. Stephen Ganeaux, who for thirty-six years was the faithful pastor of the First Baptist Church in Providence, was of Huguenot descent. This fact he often alluded to in his family circle, with peculiar satisfaction. His ancestor, François Ganeaux, was a native of Rochelle. He was a zealous Protestant, and fled with his family and only son, Stephen, to this country, to escape martyrdom. The day before he left his native city, his neighbour and friend had been sacrificed to the fury of the

populace. It was with the utmost difficulty that Mr. Ganeaux escaped. John, the grandson of Stephen Gano (as they wrote the name after they arrived in this country), was pastor of the First, and at that time the only Baptist Church in the city of New York. Dr. Gano became the pastor of the Providence church in 1792. He was born in New York, December 25th, 1762. He died August 18th, 1828.

Mr. Lucas also settled in Newport. He possessed wealth and distinction in his own country. From the record in the old folio Bible, still preserved, we should infer that he came from St. Malo, in Bretagne, where he married Marie Le Fevre, January 6th, 1696.

In all our researches into the early settlement of French Protestants in this country, we do not find a single instance where their rights have not been protected by the rulers of it. In the records of the Rhode Island Historical Society, is "an order of Governor Andros respecting the French settlers."

"To Major Richard Smith, and Captain John Jones, Justices of the peace, who are to see this order faithfully executed.

"Upon hearing and examining of the matter in difference between the towns of Greenwich als Dedford, and Kingston als Rochester, and the French families lately settled in the Narra-

gansett country about a parcell of meadow lying neere their settlement, and appointed for their accommodation, but cutt and mowed by severall persons of both the said townes, which appeares to be done in a violent, forcible manner, and the hay cutt therefrom, being by my orders secured and staked ; I doe, therefore, for the accommodation of the saide parties for the present, till the right thereto can be determined, order and appoint that all the hay cutt and made upon saide meadows as aforesaide by the discretion of my two justices of peace, be forthwith divided into two equal shares or moyeties, and that one moyety be given [then follows a number of names], and the other moyety to be left for the use of and the benefit of the said French families there, who being strangers, and lately settled, and wholly destitute, have noe other way to supply themselves. Dated at Boston, 6th day of August, 1687."

"The Narragansett country was at this time in a very unsettled and troubled state. The important war of 1675-6, which ended in the ruin of the power and independence of the Narragansett Indians, by the forces of Massachusetts and Connecticut, had been almost as ruinous to the white settlers as to the natives. Every building was burnt, and the face of the land made desolate. From the effect of these disasters, the people must have suffered for a long time."

“ But they had also other troubles. Although plainly included within the bounds of Rhode Island by the charter of King Charles of 1663, the jurisdiction of Narragansett was contested by Connecticut, and continual struggles were still going on between the supporters of the claims of the different governments. Quidnessit, the Wickford country of Boston Neck, was owned by a number of individuals from Massachusetts, commonly called the *Bay Purchasers*, who gradually adhered to the authority of Connecticut. In the other part of the country the people seem to have been attached to the government of Rhode Island.

“ It would appear, from the records, that the Bay purchasers had set apart a tract of land for the French settlers, and intended to establish them not far west from Wickford, by the name of Newbury, but the settlers did not accept of it, but took possession of a part of East Greenwich.

“ In 1689 war broke out between England and France. The State records contain the following vote, passed on that occasion by the General Assembly. ‘ Ordered, that the Frenchmen who reside at Narragansett be sent for by Master John Greene to what place in Warwick he shall appoint, to signify unto them the King’s pleasure in his proclamation of war, and his indulgence to such Frenchmen as behave themselves well, and require their engagement thereunto.’



"They could not be expected to feel much attachment to the government of a king, who had so unfairly persecuted them, and driven them from his dominions. It would seem, that they took the prescribed engagement, and were suffered to remain in quiet and safety during the war."\*

On looking back to the settlement of Oxford, it will be found that Gabriel Bernon is mentioned as "undertaker for the plantation."

The records of the Huguenots contain no memorials more interesting than those which relate to this excellent man. From his descendants has been received a sketch of his life, with the letters and records, which we insert.

"There is something beautiful," said a friend, "in this reverence felt by the children and great-grandchildren for the memory of a wise and good man (Bernon). They speak with such warmth of his virtues, you can hardly believe he was in his grave so many years before they were born; it seems as if they must at least have gathered round his knees in their childhood. To witness this feeling is very encouraging; it tells something of the way in which the good live after death, even in this world."

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\* We are indebted to a manuscript lecture of Elisha Potter, Esquire, for this statement.

“ The subject of this sketch, Gabriel Bernon, was a Protestant merchant, of an ancient and honorable family of Rochelle, where he was born April 6th, 1644. The name of Bernon occurs in Froissart's Chronicles. He was the son of André Bernon, and Suzanne Guillomard, his wife. His zeal, in the Protestant cause, had rendered him obnoxious to the authorities for some time previous to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes ; and he was two years imprisoned. There still exists in the family a small edition of the Psalms, entitled ‘ Pseaumes de David, mis en rime Française, par Clement Marot et Theodore de Bèze.’ Tradition states, that this was presented him by a fellow-prisoner. This work was printed in its minute form, to enable its persecuted owners the more readily to secrete it in their bosoms, when surprised at their simple devotions.

“ Gabriel Bernon left his native city, and took refuge in England, just before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He was like the prudent man in the Scriptures ; ‘ he foresaw the evil, and hid himself.’ In his native country nothing met his ear but threats and imprecations ; and, as was the case before the massacre of St. Bartholomew, even the pulpits promulgated the maxims, ‘ that faith need not be kept with heretics, and that to massacre them was just, pious, and useful

to salvation.' Bigotry reigned; Mercy had veiled her face; and the choice of three great evils thus fell to the poor Huguenot, expatriation, death, or recantation, worse than a thousand deaths. In leaving France, Gabriel Bernon must have been subjected to great trials. He left brothers, and every thing that could render life desirable. But all these sacrifices he 'counted as dust,' in comparison to liberty of conscience. He remained some time in England. A notarial certificate of denization, still preserved, together with many other manuscripts, bears date, London, 1687. He came to America soon after, and passed about ten years in the Narragansett country, where the ruins of his house still exist. Mr. Bernon came to Providence in the year 1698, previously to which he invested part of the property he brought with him from France in a plantation at Oxford.\* His title to this estate was afterwards most unjustly disputed. From a plan, drawn by himself, it appears that it measured 2672 acres, and was estimated to be worth one thousand pounds. This he hoped would prove a 'solid investment.'

"His zeal for the cause of religion still continued, and we find him earnestly endeavouring

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\* See "Memoir of the French Protestants," by Dr. Holmes.

to establish an Episcopal church in Providence. Some delays occurred, which gave rise to a correspondence between Mr. Bernon, the Rev. Mr. Honyman of Newport, and Dean Berkeley, then also residing at Newport. In one of Dean Berkeley's letters, written in French, he remarks (after thanking him for his beautiful prose, and his '*belle poésie*'), 'Your reflections, on the events of this world, show a very laudable zeal for religion and the glory of God.' Indeed, through all his trials (and they were many), Gabriel Bernon uniformly sustained the character of a Christian gentleman; in his own words, it was his 'most fervent desire to sustain himself in the fear of God.'

"After Gabriel Bernon had established himself in Providence, he again visited England, where he was presented at Court, and had the honor of kissing Queen Anne's hand.

"The first wife of Gabriel Bernon was a French lady, Esther le Roy by name, a daughter of François le Roy of Rochelle. She had a number of children, who came with her to America. He married a second time in this country; the name of the lady was Mary Harris. She was the granddaughter of William Harris, who landed at Whatebeer rock, in the boat with Roger Williams, in 1636.

"The only son of Mr. Bernon died young,

and he is now represented by the descendants of a numerous family of daughters, who may be traced in some of the most respectable families of Rhode Island. There are many memorials preserved of him; such as several carved chairs, a gold rattle, the Psalm-book before mentioned, and an ancient sword, bearing date, 1414. The last is in possession of Mr. Philip Allen, who is the great-grandson of Mr. Bernon. His memory is respectfully cherished in the hearts of his descendants, who delight to dwell on the piety, learning, and sacrifices of their 'French ancestor.' He died February 1st, 1736, in the ninety-second year of his age. His obituary notice was published in Boston, where he resided a short time before he came to Providence. It may not be amiss to state that Gabriel Bernon was a friend and correspondent of the Rev. Peter Daillé, minister of the French Protestant church in Boston; also of the Rev. Mr. McSparran of Narragansett."

Here follows a letter of Gabriel Bernon.

*"New York, March 25th, 1699.*

"Gentlemen,

"Before leaving this city, I feel myself bound, we being all refugee brothers, to say to you, that my Lord, the Count of Bellamont, caused me to come here, to discourse with his Excellency upon certain matters, which concern the service of the King.

“After which his Excellency also communicated to me the good-will which he bears to you. That he sees with pain the animosity which exists between the English, the French, and the Dutch ; that his Excellency takes pleasure in drawing back with clemency those who depart from the duty due to his Majesty, and to the State, &c.

“That his Excellency has not favored any party, that he has no regard for any but the good subjects of King William, since his Excellency’s main objects are the pure service of God, the honor of the King, and the prosperity of the people. His Excellency exhorts us, as good subjects, to love each other, so that being united in friendship, we may be faithful to his Majesty. To which end, we should pray God to bless his undertakings, and grant him a long and happy life. Amen.

“I, like you, have abandoned property and our country for the sake of religion, and so have many of our refugee brothers, in various parts of the world. We should, all of us, submit to the government under which we have placed ourselves. It is for us a great happiness, and a great honor, to be able to call ourselves good subjects of our Sovereign, King William ; that, since God commands us to submit to the royal power, we cannot have too much veneration for so great and illustrious a prince, nor too much

respect for the governors who represent him. We can sometimes, even with respect, become familiar with potentates. But we can never, without crime, bring into contempt, or revolt from, the regal authority. Those who act by rebellion and contempt, are condemned by the laws of England, and despise the State, &c.

"I have, with pain, seen some persons depart from the duty which we owe to my Lord, the Count of Bellamont. Do not think, that I am bold enough to erect myself into a censor, or to prescribe any thing to you. But I thought it my duty, as a brother, to let you know my true sentiments. This difference of tastes, of constitution, prevents people from agreeing perfectly. You are for Mississippi. I am for Rhode Island. I offer you my services there, and everywhere else. I shall always feel myself honored in assuring you, that I am with respect,

"Gentlemen,

"Your very humble and obedient servant,

"And refugee brother,

"Gabriel Bernon.

"To the gentlemen of the French Church in New York.

"Having had several conversations with our brothers, some of them told me, that they prefer going to Mississippi rather than submitting to Lord Bellamont."

The letter above was written while Gabriel Bernon was on a visit to Lord Bellamont.

The following documents will serve to show to the descendants of the Huguenots in this Western world, that, although their present troubles and perplexities may be embarrassing to them, yet the early settlers and pioneers of civilization had also their peculiar troubles and privations, which were much greater. It appears, by the petition of Gabriel Bernon to the Royal Council in Boston, that he claimed assistance against the ravages of the Indians, on account of the many taxes he had paid the King, and the services he had rendered the country in various ways. Instead of the assistance which he expected, he received a captain's commission, accompanied by the following letter from Governor Dudley, by which he is *kindly* allowed to defend himself.

*“ Boston, 7 July, 1702.*

*“ Mr. Gabriel Bernon,*

*“ Herewith you have a commission for captain of New Oxford. I desire you forthwith to repair thither, and show your said commission, and take care that the people be armed, and take them in your own house, with a palisado for the security of the inhabitants, and if they are at such a distance in your villages, that there shall be need*



of another place to draw them together in case of danger, consider of another proper house, and write to me, and you shall have order therein.

“ I am your humble servant,

“ J. Dudley.”

Although we have, in the present times, troubles in business and pecuniary losses, like those set forth by the afflicted Gabriel, yet we have none of so appalling a nature, as to require us to take up arms, and march into a wilderness among savages, for whose nightly yells around the cabins of the early settlers even the howling of the tempest was often mistaken, and was the frequent cause of momentary thrills of alarm.

The humble petition of Gabriel Bernon to the Town Assembly of Kingston, in 1715, serves also to show, that he had grievances in other quarters, in carrying his enterprises into effect, which are best set forth in his own quaint words and simple style.

“ An Humble Petition of Gabriel Bernon, presented to the Town Assembly the second Monday in Juin, at Philippe Griffon’s, in Kingston, y<sup>e</sup> 13th, 1715.

“ Gentlemen, as I take it for a great honor to be one of the town, I beg leave to explain myself for the good of the town. We may say, that there is an age and a time for all things, and that

our town has been like a child growing unto a man. So, Gentlemen, I take the liberty to represent, that we want all our strength to promote the advantage and the augmentation of the town, and that every one is bound to do his endeavour for the good of the town. The chief thing is to have the great rhod free, as it is the use of all the world for the public advantage. I was called by the town to build wharf, house, and sloop, to trade.

“My neighbour did shew me a lane fenced both sides, ten rod broad,\* and did promise for the great rhod to go to York, and they did promise a great rhod to go to Boston, as they said was already granted by Major Smith, for the conveniency of the town to the mill, upon condition and consideration, that I did build wharf, house, sloop, and warehouse, as soon as there was strength to build.

“Joseph Smith did stop the great rhod to go to York, making a garden of the said great rhod, and stopping the great rhod for Boston by bar and gates, most unjustly to the wrong of the town and strangers ; wherein I lost great damage myself ; for you know, Gentlemen, that the use and custom of all the world is, to have a great rhod

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\* This road is still to be seen between Kingston and Nickford, and goes by the name of “Ten Rod Road.”

to sea-ports, chiefly where mill or mills and landing-place meet together, and do require, as in this matter, for the conveniency of the town, and people that continually pass and repass.

“As it is granted by Major Smith for the town in general, it is promised to me for my interest in particular; upon that condition I did build wharf, warehouse, and sloop; so, Gentlemen, I beg justice for my damage, persuaded, Gentlemen, that you will maintain the privilege, and good of the town, as I am, with respect,

“Your servant,

“Gabriel Bernon.”

The following letter, we think, will be read with interest.

“To my Brother, Gabriel Bernon.

“*Poitiers, Sept. 1714.*

“I have received, Sir, and dearest brother, a letter, which you state that you write to me, and send through a certain person, whose name is Mr. Bereau, whom I never saw, having received through the post-office your said letter, bearing date the 5th June, 1713, as well as those you wrote me in June, 1714, accompanying packages for Bishop de la Fusilière, deceased, who has been dead more than two years. I paid the postage, which amounted to more than ten francs.

I grieve, that God has not, by his grace, freed you from the prejudices which you entertain against our Holy Mother, the Catholic Apostolic Roman Church, whose Popes, or chief bishops among bishops, ~~which is the same~~ thing, have always been, and will always be, to the end of ages, the visible chief of this church, as surely as our Lord Jesus Christ is, and will always be, its invisible divine chief for ever, on the merits of whom his children ground all hopes of salvation, having no other means of ascertaining his doctrine but the two witnesses, which you speak of, namely, the Old and New Testament. Believe me, my dear brother, your acuteness misleads you; you must not presume so much on your knowledge, as knowledge often makes us forget that true humility, which you advise, and those sentiments of Christian and evangelic morality, which you consider in your letters as necessary for a good Catholic, and one of the legitimate children of this Holy Church, out of whose pale its divine chief says and declares there is no salvation. I pray to God with all my heart, my dear brother, that he may by his grace, his most extraordinary grace, join you again to his church. Although an unworthy member, I have received many favors of different kinds from my God, but none so great as that of having joined me to the church, from which he has never permitted our

fathers to separate, notwithstanding the abuses and faults which may have crept in among the people of this holy communion. The church is the field of our Lord. The tare which the wicked one sows in it, grows there, with the good wheat which God has sprinkled on it. He does not give to man power to uproot the tare, but says, Let both grow on it, and on the day of the harvest the tares shall be bound up and thrown into the fire, and the good wheat shall be gathered and laid in the eternal granaries of his grace.

“ When, by the style and expression of the letters, which you write to Bishop de la Fusilière, deceased, you intend to destroy the respect and obedience due to the Pope, from whom alone the title of bishop can be obtained, and you endeavour to make some passages of the Apocalypse agree with your prejudices ; although the churches of France and England agree with you on the subject, you do not consider, my dear brother, that you are coinciding with heretics, like the Quakers, Puritans, and more than two thousand different religious sects, of various opinions, all of whom seceded at different times from the Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Church, which derives its origin only from Christ, and is as ancient, as the time when he came to establish it upon the earth, for the purpose of destroying and annihilating the Jewish Church ; and there is

only this church which has stood according to the promise, which its divine founder has made to it, in his Testament, that he would support it to the end of ages, and that the gates of hell would be powerless against it. In short, in order to drop the subject of religion, I send you enclosed the copy of a letter, which I formerly wrote about religion to our niece, Bernon of Rochelle, which I showed to several divines and bishops, all of whom have approved of it, several of whom, as well as several private persons, have taken copies of it, the reading of which has contributed, with the assistance of God's grace, to make them re-enter within the pale of the Church, and to this letter I refer you.

“In order to speak to you of the affairs of the times, and of those of our families, I have learned, with all the share which I should take in your troubles and afflictions, of the loss sustained by you of a wife, who must have been dear to you, and whom you must have tenderly loved, together with your children ; and the other losses which you met with, which trouble, as you say, you were happy enough to bear with resignation to the will of God. I acknowledge, my dear brother, that I am much surprised to hear, that at your advanced age, and having many children, you have married again, and to a young woman. This is your business,

although I think that nobody but yourself will approve of the step you have taken. All that I can say is, that I wish you all the happiness and satisfaction which you may have expected from it, and God's blessing, and that he may grant you by his grace to return to France, and see your country, and rejoin the church. If you should see some new offspring of the family, you may have heard of the death of our playmate and cousin of Bernonville. Thus, of the Bernon name, the males of our family are the only ones remaining in the world. Our sister François Esther, who complains much of you, is in good health, as well as our sister-in-law, and Andrew Bernon, her son. Andrew has a numerous family, and all of its members are wealthy, as well as Mr. Du Petit Val, and our nephew, Dr. Pont. As for me, I have confined myself to a moderate estate, having given up all commercial business these fifteen years and upwards, endeavouring to husband the little I have in order to raise my family as an honest man in the fear and love of God. I have four grown daughters, and a boy, who has gone through his course of Philosophy at Paris, whom I have recalled to this place to make him pursue law studies ; my eldest daughter I married six months ago to a very honorable man, of one of the best families of this country, whose name is Mr. De la Chaize Pé-

raut, who has a good estate, and is a gentleman. I have three left, who will easily marry, as they are fine-looking girls. The mother appears as young as her daughters, although very delicate. We have been together twenty years, and always in perfect harmony, never having been displeased with each other for two successive days. We are still happy to anticipate each other's wishes, and have also reason till now to be pleased with our children. All these are circumstances that ought to make us thankful to God, to whom the honor and glory of our happiness are due. Amen.

With respect to the peace which God has granted us, we must hope it may last long, which I wish with all my heart. We feared lest the death of the Queen of England might bring on some trouble, but now we hope that the prevailing harmony will not be disturbed, which I wish as cordially as

“I am, my dear Sir and Brother,

“Your most humble and obedient servant,

“S. Bernon.”

We close these valuable records with the notice of Gabriel Bernon's death, extracted from a Boston paper, dated February 19th, 1735.

“Obituary notice of Gabriel Bernon, one of the founders of the Oxford Colony in Massachusetts, and afterwards a settler of the Narragansett Country, Rhode Island.



“ On the first instant, departed this life, at Providence, Mr. Gabriel Bernon, anno ætatis suæ 92. He was a gentleman by birth and estate, born in Rochel in France, and about fifty years ago he left his native country and the greatest part of his estate ; and for the cause of true religion fled into New England, where he has ever since continued, and behaved himself as a zealous Protestant professor. He was courteous, honest, and kind, and died in great faith and hope in his Redeemer, and assurance of salvation ; and has left a good name amongst all his acquaintances. He evidenced the power of Christianity in his great sufferings, by leaving his country and a great estate, that he might worship God according to his conscience.

“ He was decently buried under the Episcopal church at Providence, and a great concourse of people attended his funeral, to whom the Rev Mr. Brown preached an agreeable, eloquent funeral sermon, from Psalm xxxix. 4.”

✓ In collecting as many facts as possible concerning the Huguenots in this country, we cannot pass over the interesting account given by Professor Silliman, of Yale College, in his “ Tour between Hartford and Quebec,” in the Autumn of 1819.

He mentions an old man, living on the Salem

road to Albany, two miles from Whitehall, by the name of Henry Francisco, a native of France, who believed himself to be one hundred and thirty-four years old. He describes his appearance in the following manner.

“ His stature is of the middle size, and, although his person is rather delicate and slender, he stoops but little, even when unsupported. His complexion is very fair and delicate, and his expression bright, cheerful, and intelligent ; his features are handsome, and, considering that they have endured through one third part of a second century, they are regular, comely, and wonderfully undisfigured by the hand of time ; his eyes are of a lively blue ; his profile is Grecian, and very fine ; his head is completely covered with the most beautiful and delicate white locks imaginable ; they are so long and abundant as to fall gracefully from the crown of his head, parting regularly from a central point, and reaching down to his shoulders ; his hair is perfectly snow white, except where it is thick in his neck ; when parted there, it shows some few dark shades, the remnants of a former century.”

We have copied this portrait of beautiful old age, for such a one seldom occurs. His father was one of the Huguenots driven from France, in the latter part of the reign of Louis the Fourteenth.

He remembered his flight in winter, being about five years old, and saying to his father, as they descended the hill, covered with snow, "O, father, do go back and get my little carriole," (sled.)

He was present at Queen Anne's coronation, in 1702 ; as his father went first to Holland and afterwards to England. It appears, that he came to this country as a soldier, was at Braddock's defeat in 1755, where he was wounded, and was carried prisoner to Quebec in the revolutionary war.

We close this account with the striking reflections of the narrator.

"Little could I have expected to converse and shake hands with a man who has been a soldier in most of the wars of this country for one hundred years ; who, more than a century ago, fought under Marlborough, in the wars of Queen Anne ; who, one hundred and twenty-eight years ago, and in the *century before the last*, was driven from France, by the proud, magnificent, and intolerant Louis the Fourteenth, and who has lived a forty-fourth part of all the time that the human race have occupied this globe !"

Many of the old provincial nobility, particularly in the south of France, were Protestants, and resided in the ancient chateaux which had descended to them from distant generations. They were loyal to their king and country, and were

willing to give a liberal part of their revenues to public purposes. But they claimed the patriarchal habit of governing their families, of raising the domestic altar, and presiding faithfully over their children and servants. They probably had not acquired the tact of the French court ; perhaps had never been at Versailles. They were plain, and often peculiar, in their manners. To humble this race, who yielded no point of duty to etiquette, was a favorite object, and petty feuds were sometimes cloaked by religious zeal. Such motives, however, ought not to be attributed without caution to the persecutors of the Protestants. There were many, very many, Catholics, who believed they were saving the soul while they destroyed the body ; nor can we be astonished, that, with the dangerous engine of *power* wholly on their side, it was used without mercy. It is the fault which besets parties and theorists, to ascribe the worst motives to their antagonists, and to persecute in spirit those over whom they have no temporal power. There were many good and conscientious Catholics who believed it their duty to exterminate heresy ; and many benevolent and pious priests who mourned over the harshness of the measures adopted.

One Catholic priest, at Lyons, even ventured to remonstrate at the cruelties inflicted, and was disgraced in consequence. Another said, he

would "gladly purchase, with his own blood, the lives of these unfortunate heretics."

With the Protestants, who found an asylum in foreign countries, the persecution was far from terminating as to those who remained. Many made unsuccessful attempts to leave France, and were detected and condemned to the galleys. A Mr. Benezet was taken, tried, and condemned to be hung. He was born of Protestant parents, but, they dying while he was young, he was thrown among Catholics, and educated in the Catholic religion. When old enough to investigate for himself, he became a Protestant. He was a man respected for his moral integrity, and so truly inoffensive in his deportment, that he had secured many friends among all denominations. "I suppose," says a letter from Montauban, "that you have heard what sorrow has come amongst us. Thirty men are condemned to the galleys, and twenty-five women to the house of correction, in Cahors, for refusing to sign the abjuration of Protestantism." However painful it may be to record the sufferings of individuals in France, it would be unjust to our subject to pass them wholly over. We shall confine ourselves to general and rapid statements, except in one instance, which will give some idea of being "condemned to the galleys."

## CHAPTER XXXI.

A HUGUENOT IN FRANCE CONDEMNED TO  
THE GALLEYS.

THE sufferings of the Protestants who remained in France, or made ineffectual efforts to escape, during this period of persecution, have been too often recorded to make it necessary to enlarge upon the subject. The following account is abstracted from the memoir of an individual, published about the year 1716.

During the dragooning period, twenty-two soldiers were quartered in the family of a widow, in the province of Perigord. They insisted on her signing the form of abjuration prescribed, and, on her refusal, plundered her of all she possessed. Not satisfied with this injustice, she was carried before a person of authority, and at length by threats induced to sign, receiving a promise, that her four children should remain unmolested. When she wrote her name she obstinately persisted in adding, "compelled by fear." This was considered a breach of promise, and, though she was left at liberty herself, her two younger sons and a daughter were seized and confined in

convents. The eldest was a lad of eighteen, and, with a resolution uncommon for his youth, he contrived and executed a plan of escape, with a companion near his own age.

They proceeded without any obstacle to Paris, by travelling on by-roads, and arrived there on the 10th of November, 1700. From a friend they procured necessary directions, which would enable them to gain the frontier and embark for Holland. After many hair-breadth and ingenious escapes, they were arrested at Marienburg and conducted before the Governor. When questioned, they acknowledged that they were of the reformed religion, but denied any intention to abscond, knowing how severe the penalties were for this offence. The young Protestant afterwards deeply regretted this deviation from truth, which in fact availed him nothing. He was conducted with his companion to a dungeon, where they were searched, and all they possessed was taken from them.

The Governor seems to have felt some compassion for the heretics, and took pains to persuade them to abjure, as otherwise they would be condemned to the galleys for attempting to abscond, of which there was sufficient evidence. They had now determined to abide wholly by the truth, and place their reliance in God alone. "We are determined," said they, "to endure

even the galleys or death, rather than renounce the faith in which we have been educated." They found a gentleman here who was secretly a Protestant, and who seems to have revered in these young men the course which he had not had resolution to pursue ; for, when brought to the same extremity, he had abjured. He furnished them with money, and, confessing to them, that he was " more miserable than they were, for he never could get rid of the reproaches of his own conscience," parted from them with tears. We ought to remember, in relating these persecutions, that they were the effect of misguided zeal, and not of hard-hearted cruelty. Several of the priests used every argument to convert them, and finally offered bribes. For Amadée, the subject of the memoir, one offered to procure an excellent alliance, and said he knew a beautiful woman with a large fortune who would accept of him for a husband, after he had proved himself a converted son of the church.

The youth rejected the bribe, and refused the offer, with too much contempt for the Christian patience of the confessor, who repaired to the Governor and told him, that the heretic was evidently under the power of the Devil. Two days after, their sentence was read to them. " Whereas, they were without a passport from Court, on the frontiers of the kingdom, and being of the re-



Region which pretends to be reformed, they were found guilty of having endeavoured to quit the kingdom, against his Majesty's order to the contrary. For which crime they were condemned to serve in his Majesty's galleys for life, and all their goods to be confiscated," &c.

The young men were now conducted to a dungeon, where they remained till they set off for Tournay, accompanied by four archers, who handcuffed them and tied them together. In this manner they went through Philipville, Maubeuge, and Valenciennes, walking bound through the day, and at night consigned to loathsome prisons, without a bed to rest on, and only sustained by a scanty portion of bread and water. On their arrival at Tournay, they were placed in the prison of the Parliament, and allowed a pound and a half of bread per day. Under this allowance they became weak and emaciated, and suffered inexpressibly from the filth of their apartment. They sold the clothes they wore for a little more bread, and, though from instinct seeking to prolong their existence, felt an earnest conviction, that death alone could release them from suffering. In this situation they remained six weeks, and were slightly relieved by the arrival of two fellow-prisoners, who proved to be early schoolmates, and who, after recognising them, asked if money could not procure them better fare. On receiv-

ing a reply in the affirmative, they produced, from different parts of their dress, including the soles of their shoes, four hundred louis-d'ors, and, giving Amadée a louis-d'or, requested him to summon the turnkey and order what he thought proper. This he immediately did, and, inflated by such unexpected prosperity, desired him, in an imperious manner, to bring dinner, giving him the money. The turnkey replied, obsequiously, "Certainly, Sir ; what will you please to have ? soup and *bouilli* ?" Strange, that a louis-d'or could produce such an effect upon human character !

"Soup and *bouilli* will do," replied the half-famished prisoner ; "but let us have a large piece of beef, a gallon of soup, and ten pounds of bread, with beer in proportion." The turnkey promised they should have all in an hour. An hour seemed to them an age ; they urged that it might be in half an hour, and at length it all arrived. "I had never been a glutton," said the young man, "when a boy ; but now I felt, that, if our entertainers had appetites like myself, we had ordered too little." The new comers, however, had but small appetites ; and the poor residents of the dungeon nearly destroyed themselves by this temporary feast, suffering after it in a greater degree than they had enjoyed.

From this prison they were removed to another, and separated from their schoolmates, who

supplied them with a very small sum at parting. Their new prison was less irksome than the former one, and they entreated not to be remanded to the Parliament prison. The Vicar, who had undertaken their conversion, seems to have been a kind-hearted man, and pitied their condition. Though disappointed in his desire of converting them, he was able to procure them alleviations, and finally applied to a Counsellor of the Parliament in their behalf, to obtain for them, if possible, a pardon, as the crime, for which they were sentenced to the galleys, was not religion, but the intention of escaping from the country, and this had not been proved. It is unnecessary to trace the steps taken by the humane Vicar and other Catholics, who became interested in these unfortunate men. The Counsellor pleaded their cause most ably, and all the Assembly seemed much disposed in their favor. In a day or two they received the joyful intelligence, that the Parliament had entirely acquitted them of having any intention of leaving the kingdom, and that, if their authority had influence sufficient, they would be pardoned. The good Counsellor wrote to Court, to the Marquis de la Villière, and not a doubt was entertained of the result. Congratulations poured in upon them, and every time the door turned on its hinges they believed the joyful news of their release had arrived. For a fortnight they

remained in this state of suspense, and then were ordered to appear before the Counsellors ; deep regret was expressed in many countenances ; the President put a letter into their hands, which was from the Marquis de la Villière.

“ Gentlemen : — A. M. and Daniel le Gras [the names by which they were known] having been taken on the frontiers without a passport, it is his Majesty’s pleasure, that they be condemned to the galleys.

“ Yours, &c.”

In how few words may a man be doomed to misery ! It was little relief to them to be told, that it was the sentence of the King, not *theirs*, and that they truly compassionated their misfortunes. The prospect was dark and desolate ; they were sentenced to the galleys *for life*. Three days after, they were removed to Lisle. Though only fifteen miles, as they walked chained and handcuffed, they were extremely fatigued, but obliged to go through various examinations before they were led to their dungeon. Here were about thirty galley-slaves in total darkness, not a gleam of light entering the prison, — men, not condemned for *opinion*, but for atrocious crimes. The miserable prisoners thronged round them, demanding *garnish money* with oaths and

imprecations, and threatening to toss them in a blanket if they had none. They escaped this penalty by giving a part of their money. In situations like this, silence and submission is the only resource ; for once the hero of our story yielded to the impulse of the moment, and gave an answer to the turnkey, that he considered as defying him. We pass over the blows and cruelty exercised upon him in consequence, and the loathsome dungeon to which he was removed, knee-deep in water. When his allowance of bread and water was brought he refused to eat, and resigned himself to a lingering death. It would seem, that in all situations men may be found, feeling some of the ties of human nature. The gaoler came to his prison expecting to find a daring and hardened offender. A short interview dispelled this idea. He reproved him for exasperating the turnkey, but carried him to his own apartment and ordered breakfast ; afterwards he led him to a prison that was neither wet nor dark. He urged to have his friend with him, and the gaoler gave him encouragement that he might obtain this favor. The virtue of the gaoler seems, however, to have been very limited ; he endeavoured to get away the little money his prisoner possessed by exorbitant demands.

At length, a new character appeared, and this was the Grand Provost and master of the prison.

He had received a letter from his brother-in-law, who resided near, and who had heard of the imprisonment of the heretics. He was of Protestant extraction, and felt the deepest commiseration for them. The Provost gave orders that they should be removed from the common prisons and placed in commodious rooms, and supplied with what they wanted free of expense.

Benefactions were daily bestowed upon them by the compassionate inhabitants of the city, and one of the most respectable of the prisoners was selected to distribute these donations. To this honor Amadie was appointed. A box, hanging by a rope from the window, received the charity of the citizens; frequently tradesmen and merchants threw in a donation of money. All this the *selected almoner* was to distribute among six hundred prisoners. The galley-slaves, who were of the lowest order, were not permitted to receive theirs, but it was given to the gaoler for their use, who converted the chief part of it to his own.

Amadée and his companion were now comparatively well situated, but this could not last long. At the end of three months they were ordered to depart with a company of galley-slaves. It was the last ordered to Dunkirk; the rest were to be carried to Marseilles, which was a journey by foot of three hundred miles, and to be performed with chains about the neck. The Provost ad-

vised them to seize this opportunity, as he could control the manner of their going. They assented, and the kind Provost ordered them to be distinguished from all the others, by being transported in a wagon, supping with the guards, and having a bed allowed them at night. So different was their treatment from that of the others, that they were supposed to be persons of high rank, and crowds flocked to see them. Women were faithful to the compassionate instinct of their hearts. One beautiful girl approached Amadée, holding a rosary with a crucifix attached to it, which she offered him. Though he would gladly have accepted it as a token, from the tender-hearted maiden, he felt that it would be considered as a sign of abjuration of his own faith, and heroically declined it. That evening she came to his prison bringing a priest, and declared her object to be his conversion. Let us not think lightly of a faith that could make a young man, not yet twenty, resist the allurements of youth, beauty, and a virtuous alliance, and embrace stripes and bondage.

“This,” said Amadée, “was a trial, that God alone enabled me to go through. Once I became faint from my emotions, and I was on the point of yielding. I pressed the soft, delicate hand, that I held, to my lips again and again, and tried to release it, but I could not let it go. The

priest saw my yielding spirit. 'That hand may be yours,' said he, 'for all eternity, by renouncing your heresy and embracing the true religion.' Did God put those words into his mouth to nerve me with courage? 'No,' I exclaimed, with new resolution; 'it might be mine for this life, but I should purchase it by an eternity of misery. Let me rather die a galley-slave, at peace with my own conscience and my God.' Yet, when I saw her no more, when the last glimpse of her sweet and sorrowful face was gone, when even her white dress could no longer be discerned, I sank down and wept aloud. At length the agony of my soul began to yield to a still, small voice within. I grew calm, and thought I was dying. 'God hears my prayers,' said I; 'he has sent his angels to minister to me, to conduct me to the realms of bliss.' Shall I confess it? The face of the sweet Catholic girl was ever before me. She seemed to emit a radiance of light through my prison. I know not whether my dream was a sleeping or a waking one, but methought she leaned over me, and, raising the hand I had resigned, said in a soft, silver voice, 'Thou hast won this for eternity.'

"How often, in successive years, when chained to the oar, have I heard that voice and seen the beautiful vision! God ministers to us by his holy angels!"



We must turn from this touching scene to sad reality. He at length arrived at Dunkirk, and was put on board a galley, called the *Heureuse*, commanded by Commodore de la Pailleterie. On his first arrival he offended a slave by refusing him money ; the fellow informed the *sous-comite* that he had uttered "horrid blasphemies against the holy Virgin, and all the saints in paradise." The *sous-comite* ordered him to receive the bastinado. This punishment is too well known to need a description. We turn from it with anguish, at the remembrance of cruelties man has devised for his brother man. Fortunately an officer of some rank passed, as they were about to inflict the punishment. "He made inquiries into the nature of my offence, and demanded of me, how I came to be guilty of such folly as well as insolence, as to blaspheme the Catholic faith. I answered, that it was false, that my religion forbade my insulting that of others." He made still further inquiries, and obtained evidence that the accusation was false, and the Protestant was acquitted.

This may prove, that no government is so arbitrary as to withhold all attempts to administer justice. There are principles implanted in the breast that cannot be wholly eradicated. God does not leave himself without witnesses in the heart of every human being. Yet many instances

occurred which proved that nothing could exempt the unhappy slaves from the bastinado for the slightest offence.

The description of a galley will be new to many. "Ours was a hundred and fifty feet long and fifty broad, with but one deck, which covered the hold. The deck rises about a foot in the middle, and slopes toward the edges to let the water run off more easily ; for when a galley is loaded it seems to swim under the water, and the sea continually rushes over it. To prevent the sea from entering the hold, where the masts are placed, a long case of boards, called the *coursier*, is fixed in the middle, running from one end of the galley to the other. The slaves, who are the rowers, have each a board raised from the deck under which the water passes, which serves them for a footstool, otherwise their feet would be constantly in the water. A galley has fifty benches for rowers, twenty-five on each side ; each bench is ten feet long, one end fixed in the *coursier*, that runs through the boat, the other in the band or side of the boat ; the benches are half a foot thick, and placed at four feet distance from each other, and are covered with sackcloth, stuffed with flock, and a cowhide thrown over them, which, reaching to the footstool, gives them the appearance of large trunks. To these the galley-slaves are chained, six to a bench. The

oars are fifty feet long, and are poized *in equilibrio* upon the *apostic*, or piece of timber for this purpose. They are constructed so, that the thirteen feet of the oar, that go into the boat, are equal in weight to the thirty-seven which go into the water. It would be impossible for the slaves to grasp them, and handles are affixed for rowing.

“The master or *comite* stands always at the stern, near the captain, to receive his orders. There are *sous-comites*, one in the middle and one near the prow, each with a whip of cords to exercise as they see fit on the slaves. The *comite* blows a silver whistle, which hangs from his neck; the slaves have their oars in readiness and strike all at once, and keep time so exactly, that the hundred and fifty oars seem to make but one movement. There is an absolute necessity for thus rowing together, for, should one be lifted up or fall too soon, those before would strike the oar with the back part of their heads. Any mistake of this kind is followed by blows given with merciless fury. *The labor of a galley-slave* has become a proverb; it is the greatest fatigue that a man can bear. Six men are chained to each bench on both sides of the *coursier* wholly naked, sitting with one foot on a block of timber, the other resting on the bench before them, holding in their hands an enormous oar. Imagine them lengthening their bodies, their arms stretched out

to push the oar over the backs of those before them ; they then plunge the oar into the sea, and fall back into the hollow below, to repeat again and again the same muscular action. The fatigue and misery of their labor seems to be without parallel. They often faint, and are brought to life by the lash. Sometimes a bit of bread dipped in wine is put into their mouths, when their labor cannot for a moment be spared. Sometimes, when they faint, they are thrown into the sea, and another takes the place."

## CHAPTER XXXII.

DESCRIPTION OF THE GALLEYS.—CONCLUSION  
OF THE NARRATIVE.

THIS sketch, slight as it is, will give some idea of the horrors of the situation ; but we turn from these minute descriptions of cruelty and consequent suffering ; one reflection constantly arises to the mind in reading this narrative, that vice and virtue cannot be levelled in their effects by any similarity of situation. Though we now behold the young man a galley-slave, surrounded by the lowest class of offenders, yet his mild and gentle manners, and the purity of Christian precepts, produce their effect.

As in all orders of society, some are more obnoxious than others, there was an evident distinction among the *comites* of the different galleys. One, who presided over a galley that lay near, was named Palma. He was notorious for his cruelty. All looked upon it as an aggravation of their misfortunes to be placed in this galley. "As our numbers multiplied," says Amadée, "it was announced, that several of us were to be distributed on board this galley. I prayed that my

lot might not fall to this *comite*. When the lots were drawn, a man approached me and ordered me to follow him. Eager to know my fortune, I begged him to inform me to what galley my lot had fallen. 'The galley of Palma,' said he. 'O Heavens !' I exclaimed, 'has God thus deserted me ?'

" 'What do you mean ?' said he, frowning.

" 'He is as merciless as a demon,' I exclaimed ; 'nothing can exceed his cruelty.'

" 'I should like to know,' said he, fiercely, 'who gives that character of me ; they should soon feel my wrath.'

" I now perceived, that it was Palma himself to whom I was speaking. 'God's will be done,' said I ; 'I will serve you faithfully and without murmuring ; the treatment remains with you.' He made no reply, but conducted me to his galley, and ordered the *sous-comite* to chain me, as usual. As I was young and vigorous, he put a heavy chain round my leg. Soon after, Palma came to the bench where I was placed ; he observed that they had put one of the heaviest chains upon me, and immediately ordered a lighter one, and even chose the chain himself. From this time he favored me particularly, and, when the hard-hearted captain ordered Palma to give the Huguenots a *hempen breakfast*, meaning a whipping, he let his blows fall lightly on me,

and I even thought he spared the others for my sake. When the captain, as is customary, appointed a galley-slave to take care of the provisions, Palma recommended me to him, as a slave whom he could trust, but, added he, 'He is a Huguenot.' 'How, then, can he be trusted?' asked the captain. He yielded so far to the representations of Palma, as to order me before him. 'They tell me,' said he, 'you are the only slave that can be trusted, and you are a Huguenot.' I answered submissively, that there were other Huguenots on board the galley, that could be trusted. 'I will try you,' said he, 'and give you the care of the stores; but, remember, for the slightest infidelity you receive the bastinado!' The office entitles the slave who holds it to an exemption from the oar and a dinner every day upon the captain's provision.

"Such a situation was comparative happiness to the hard duty I was undergoing; my heart beat rapidly. I made no reply, for I was buried in thought. 'Dog of a Christian,' he exclaimed, 'have you no thanks?' At this moment a struggle, not inferior to that I had experienced once before, took possession of my mind. 'There is another Huguenot on board this galley,' said I, 'who is every way more worthy of this office than myself. He is an old man, broken down by labor; he is unable to work at the

oar, and even stripes can get but little service from him. I am yet able to *endure*; grant him this place, and let me still continue at the oar.' The captain seemed doubtful whether he understood me. 'I know who he means,' said the *comite*, 'it is old Bancillon.' 'Let him be brought,' said the commander. Bancillon was brought forward, bowed down by age and labor, his venerable head covered with white hair. The *comites* acknowledged, that, excepting inability of strength, he had no faults, and was respected for his integrity by every one." It is unnecessary to pursue the details. He was appointed to the office, and the young Amadée returned to the oar. "How weak was my virtue!" he exclaims; "though it enabled me to resign the office to this venerable minister, (for such he once was,) it could not restrain bitter emotions. I felt my face bedewed with scalding tears of regret, as I once more commenced my hard labor. But when, a short time after, I beheld the venerable Bancillon losing the emaciated and distressed appearance he had worn, smiling benignantly on me, and imploring for me the blessing of Heaven, I no longer murmured; I was rewarded for my sacrifice."

"One circumstance ought not to be omitted, relating to Bancillon. He soon won the entire confidence of the captain, and the jealousy of those around him was roused. They laid a plot



to ruin him. He discovered it, and, without exposing them to the bastinado by revealing it, informed the captain that he wished to resign his office. 'Do you know the penalties?' said the captain. 'I know,' replied the old man, 'that I must return to the oar. My sight and my memory fail me; I will try to perform my duty, and death will soon release me from the hard service.'

"While he was speaking, one of those who had devised his ruin, suspecting that he was informing the captain, came forward and revealed the plot, to secure his own pardon. The captain investigated the matter, insisted on his resuming the office, and grew more lenient towards the Huguenots for his sake. There were six of these in our galley, and all of them won more forbearance from the *comites*, by their quiet and orderly behaviour, than might have been expected."

In the beginning of the summer of 1708, (Amadée had been seven years on board the galleys,) Queen Anne had a vessel of seventy guns commanded by a man who was a concealed Catholic, though an Englishman. Strange as it may seem, he bore a perfect hatred towards his own country, where the same persecutions had formerly been exercised towards the Papists, as were now practising by the French towards the Huguenots. He was no sooner in possession of the ship, than

he sailed to Gottenburg, sold her, and repaired to France to offer his services to Louis the Fourteenth against his country. The King received him graciously, promised him a captain's commission when one should be vacant ; and, in the mean time, advised him to go on board the galley of Monsieur Langeron at Dunkirk ; this was the one to which Amadée belonged. The Englishman, whose name was Smith, constantly suggested plans for burning the towns on the coast, and particularly Harwich, a small town situated near the mouth of the Thames. For this purpose there was a reinforcement of soldiers and combustibles prepared. Six galleys sailed on a fine clear morning to perform this cruel vengeance on Harwich, at the instigation of a native Englishman.

They arrived at the mouth of the Thames at about five in the evening, and waited till dark to make their descent upon the quiet town. In the mean time, an alarm was given, that a fleet of merchant ships, escorted by a frigate, were making for the mouth of the Thames. It was immediately resolved by a council of war, that the six galleys should attack this fleet. They soon came up to it. Four of the galleys were to attack the merchant ships, while that of Commo-dore de Langeron and one other were to become masters of the frigate.

In pursuance of this plan, four of the galleys surrounded the merchantmen, who were without guns, to prevent their entering the Thames. The captain of the frigate, perceiving the design of the enemy, ordered the men to crowd all sail, and, if possible, get into the Thames, and, leaving them, bore down upon the other galleys. "Ours," says Amadée, "was the only one in a condition to begin the engagement, as our associate had fallen back, for some cause, more than a league behind us. Our commodore thought his one galley would be more than a match for the frigate, and did not hesitate to meet it. We were soon within cannon-shot, and, accordingly, the galley discharged her broadside. The frigate, silent as death, approached us without firing a gun; no sound could be heard from her, except her deep sweep through the water. Our commodore actually believed, that she was going to surrender without a blow. Along, however, she came steadily advancing, the galley incessantly pouring in her broadside, and the frigate still seeming to move by invisible means, and preserving a death-like silence. Suddenly we saw all hands in motion; it became evident, that it was making an attempt to fly. Nothing gives spirits like a flying enemy. The officers began to boast, 'If the frigate does not strike in two moments, it shall be sunk by a blast in less time.'

“The commodore gained upon the frigate, and ordered the men to bury the beak of the galley in the stern, and immediately to board her. All the sailors and soldiers stood ready with their sabres and battle-axes. Suddenly the frigate dashed round and fairly laid herself alongside of us. Now it was, that we saw our mistake; the grappling irons were thrown out and fixed us fast to the frigate. The artillery began to pour upon us with grape-shot; all on board were as much exposed as if upon a raft. Not a gun was fired that did not do horrible execution. The English masts were filled with sailors, that threw grenades among us like hail, and scattered wounds and death. Our men no longer thought of attack; terror seemed to have taken possession of the officers. To add to the horror of our situation, the enemy threw in forty or fifty men, who, sword in hand, hewed down all that opposed them, but sparing the slaves, who were chained and unable to make resistance. Langeron, seeing himself reduced to such extremity, waved the flag of distress to call the other galleys to his aid. They were obliged to quit their intended prey, and hasten to our assistance, and the whole fleet of merchant ships saved themselves in the Thames.

“The galleys rowed with such swiftness, that in less than half an hour the six galleys encompassed the frigate. Her men were now no longer

able to keep the deck, and a number of grenadiers were ordered to board her. This was executed with extreme difficulty, but the frigate's crew were at last constrained to yield when encompassed by the six galleys. At length all the ship's company were made prisoners, except the captain, who took refuge in the cabin, firing upon us with the utmost obstinacy. We concluded that he must be perfectly fool-hardy when he declared, that he would sooner blow the frigate up in the air than strike. The way to the powder led through the cabin, and, were the frigate blown up, it would have been attended with disastrous consequences to our galleys. In this extremity it was concluded to hold a parley with the captain, and to promise him the kindest treatment on his surrendering. He only replied by firing from the windows. The English officers, by their accounts of him, had greatly increased the tremendous idea we had formed of the desperate captain. At length it was resolved, that he should be taken, dead or alive ; for this purpose, a sergeant with twelve grenadiers attempted to break open his door ; but the captain, who was prepared with loaded pistols, shot him down, and the others took to flight ; for, as they could advance into the room but one at a time, the captain could kill them one after the other. Recourse was had to more gentle measures, and he finally consented to

surrender himself. Our astonishment was extreme when he appeared ; hump-backed, pale-faced, and deformed in person, we could scarcely believe, that this insignificant figure had made such a mighty uproar. It was soon understood, why he had so long resisted. The course he pursued was to give the merchantmen time to escape into the Thames. When he saw that they had accomplished this purpose, he yielded at once."

We must now pursue this narrative, to give a faint idea of the horrors of the engagement.

"We have seen," says the unfortunate Amadée, "how dexterously the frigate placed herself alongside of us, by which we were exposed to the fire of her artillery, charged with grape-shot. It happened that my seat, on which there were five Frenchmen and one Turk, lay just opposite one of the cannon, which was charged. The two vessels lay so close, that, by raising my body in the least, I could touch the cannon with my hand. A neighbourhood so terrible filled us all with silent consternation. My companions lay flat on the seat and in that posture endeavoured to avoid the coming blow. I had presence of mind enough to perceive, that the gun was pointed in such a manner, that those who lay flat would receive its contents ; and I sat as upright as possible, but, being chained, could not quit my sta-

tion. In this manner I awaited death, which I had scarce any hope of escaping. My eyes were fixed upon the gunner, who, with his lighted match, fired one piece after another. He came nearer and nearer to the fatal one. I lifted my heart to God in fervent prayer. Never had I felt such assurances of divine mercy, whether life or death awaited me. I looked steadily at the gunner as he applied the lighted match. What followed I only knew by the consequences. The explosion had stunned me ; I was blown as far as my chain would permit. Here I remained, I cannot say how long, lying across the body of the lieutenant of the galley, who had been killed some time before. At last, recovering my senses and finding myself lying upon a dead body, I crept back to my seat. It was night, and the darkness was such, that I could see neither the blood that was spilled, nor the carnage around me. I imagined that their former fears still operated upon my companions ; and that they lay on their faces to avoid the no longer threatening danger. I felt no pain from any wound and believed myself uninjured.

“ I remained in a tranquil state for some moments, and even began to be amused with the motionless silence of my fellow-slaves, who, I supposed, were still lying as they first threw themselves. Desirous to free them from their

terrors, I pushed the one next to me. 'Rise, my boy,' said I, 'the danger is over.' I received no answer. I spoke louder; all was silence and Egyptian darkness.

"Isouf, a Turk, had often boasted, that he never knew what fear was. He was remarkable for his truth and honesty. 'My good fellow,' said I, in a tone of raillery, 'up, the danger is over, you may be as brave as ever. Come, I will help you. I leaned forward and took his hand. O, horrors! my blood still freezes at the remembrance; it came off in mine, stiff, and deadly cold! The first gleam of light showed me my companions all slaughtered! Of the six on our seat I alone survived. Alas! I may well say, I was the *miserable survivor*; their toils and agonies were over. It was some time before I discovered that I was wounded, and then not by pain, but by the blood which deluged me."

But why prolong this sad narrative? Of eighteen slaves on the three *bancs* or seats, Amadée was the only living one; and he, mutilated and wounded in three places, awaited the end of the engagement, — the silence only broken by groans or imprecations, or the firing of the captain, who still refused to surrender.

After a long interval of suffering, Amadée was considered able to resume his place at the oar. It may not be uninteresting to abstract some ac-



count of the occupation of the slaves when the galley is laid up for the winter in time of peace.

“The order is given from Court about the latter end of October.” The galleys are then arranged along the quay. The galley is entirely cleared, and the slaves remain fixed to their wretched quarters for the winter. They spread their great-coats for beds on a board, and here they sleep. When the weather is extremely cold they have a tent, made of coarse woollen cloth, raised over the galley. They never have fire or blankets. It is now a season of some rest for them, and they are permitted to earn a little money. Among the variety there are often tradesmen, tailors, shoemakers, gravers, &c. These are sometimes permitted to build wooden stalls upon the quay opposite their respective galleys. The keeper chains them in their stalls. Here they may earn a few halfpence a day, and this situation is comparative ease. There is, however, still hard labor aboard the galley. The *comites* still use the lash without mercy, and often without discrimination. One of the hardest labors to Amadée, because the most tyrannical and degrading, was the exhibition to which they were constantly exposed by the officers, for the entertainment of their friends. The galley was cleaned anew, and the slaves were ordered to shave, and put on their red habits and red caps,

which are their uniform, when they wear any garments. This done, they are made to sit between the benches, so that nothing but heads with red caps are visible, from one end of the galley to the other. In this attitude the gentlemen and ladies, who come as spectators, are saluted by the slaves, with a loud and mournful cry of *Hau*. This seems but one voice ; it is repeated three times, when a person of high distinction enters. During this salute the drums beat, and the soldiers, in their best clothes, are ranged along the *bande* of the boat, with their guns shouldered. The masts are adorned with streamers ; the chamber at the stern is also adorned with hangings of red velvet, fringed with gold. The ornaments in sculpture, at the stern, thus beautified to the water's edge ; the oars lying on the seats, and appearing without the galley like wings, painted of different colors, — a galley thus adorned strikes the eye magnificently ; but let the spectator reflect on the misery of three hundred slaves, scarred with stripes, emaciated and dead-eyed, chained day and night, and subject to the arbitrary will of creatures devoid of humanity, and he will no longer be enchanted by the gaudy outside. The spectators, a large proportion of whom are often ladies, pass from one end of the galley to the other, and return to the stern, where they seat themselves. The *comite* then blows his whistle. At the first

blast every slave takes off his cap ; at the second, his coat ; at the third, his shirt, and they remain naked. Then comes what is called the monkey-exhibition. They are all ordered to lie along the seats, and the spectator loses sight of them ; then they lift one finger, next their arms, then their head, then one leg, and so on, till they appear standing upright. Then they open their mouths, cough all together, embrace, and throw themselves into ridiculous attitudes, wearing, to the appearance of the spectator, an air of gayety, strangely contrasted with the sad, hollow eye of many of the performers, and the ferocious, hardened despair of others. To the reflecting mind there can scarcely be any thing more degrading than this exhibition ; men, subject constantly to the lash, doomed for life to misery, perpetually called upon to amuse their fellow-beings by ‘ antic tricks.’

“ Forty of these galleys were maintained during the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, at a most extravagant expense. It has been a subject of inquiry, what were the motives, as the success of this kind of boats is supposed to be disproportionate to frigates, and other ships of war. They provided maintenance for younger brothers of noble families, particularly Knights of Malta, who were generally the head officers. They likewise afforded a secure prison for criminals of all kinds.

There are, perhaps, nautical advantages, as it matters not which way the wind blows, they being always subject to the oar."

We pass over the transfer of our unfortunate prisoner from Dunkirk to the galleys at Marseilles, and the description of the horrible prison of Tournelle, at Paris, where they were chained in ranks, so that they could neither stand nor lie down, nor even sit, but were obliged to assume a posture between all.

On the 17th of January, 1713, our Protestant friend, with twenty-two other prisoners, arrived at Marseilles; nearly half of the number had died in the transportation. They were put on board a galley, where there were other Protestants, who had preferred stripes and suffering to abjuration of their religion. Let us hasten to the conclusion of this melancholy story. By the intercession of Queen Anne, of England, liberty and pardon was granted to a certain number of the Protestant galley-slaves, on condition of their quitting the kingdom at their own expense. This number was limited to a hundred and thirty-six, and Amadée was amongst them; the number of Protestant slaves was upwards of three hundred. These were not released till nearly a year afterwards. By the aid of the charitable, the poor captives, after encountering many obstacles, arrived, on Sunday, within a

league of Geneva. They here halted at a small village, situated on a mountain, where they could view their land of rest.

We may judge of their emotions, after what they had endured. The gates of the city were closed on Sunday till four o'clock. They waited till that hour, and then proceeded to the town. Intelligence, however, had previously reached the place, of the arrival of the convicts. They were met by crowds of people, of every age and sex, and the dignitaries of the city. But the scene became more deeply interesting; many had friends and near relations on board the galleys. Exclamations were heard, of "My son!" "My husband!" "My brother!" All received welcome and embraces; it was a band of Christian brothers meeting, and language seemed wanting to express their mutual feelings. We close this account of Protestant constancy and suffering, in the words of our hero.

"At length, we followed their Excellencies, who conducted us into the city in a kind of triumph; joy all around us, acclamations from every quarter; the governors honoring us with their presence, our galley labors at an end, and liberty secured to us, of serving God according to our own consciences; venerable ministers of the gospel consoling, and strengthening, and even praising us, for our perseverance. O, what a

Sabbath evening was this ! How different from the cavalcades, to which we had been accustomed, when pursuing our weary way, loaded with chains, insulted by the populace, famishing with hunger, holding out our wooden cups imploring a drop of water, and refused with surliness or gibes." Not one of them was conducted to the hospital, though it had been prepared for them ; private asylums were offered the sufferers, and each one was received at some domestic board.

There is a sort of poetical justice in bringing the sufferers in safety to the burial-place\* of Calvin, the first French reformer, with whose history we almost began that of the Huguenots. The setting sun was casting its glorious beams on the graveyard, as the pilgrims knelt in silent prayer. How solemn, how impressive the scene ! If ever spirits are permitted to revisit the earth, surely, Calvin's must have been there, purified from all bigotry, and walking humbly and devoutly with the persecuted Servetus.

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\* It is said, that the individual grave of the Genevese Reformer is not now known.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

DEATH OF LOUIS LE GRAND.—THE REGENT,  
PHILIP OF ORLEANS.

ONCE more we return to the native land of the Huguenots, to France, and the *glorious age of Louis the Fourteenth* ! That this was a glorious age to France in many respects, cannot be denied. But the influence of Louvois will always throw a stain upon its annals, while Colbert, his predecessor, will by many be considered as the chief source of its splendor.

After the year 1700, we must contemplate Louis in a different situation from what we have hitherto done. He had prosecuted the war against the allies with an ostentation and prodigality, that comported with the *siècle glorieux*. To this vast expense were added his superb *créations* at Marly, Versailles, &c. In 1709, we find him a poor man in the midst of splendor. In his elegant saloon at Marly, embellished by paintings, statuary, and costly furniture, we behold him bending over heaps of grain, with a clouded brow. The cries of the famishing multitude had penetrated the walls of the palace.

They call on Louis to retrench his superfluous expenses, and give them wherewithal to keep them from starving. Is it with fatherly care we see him employed in examining the grain brought for his inspection? History says, No. "The study of Louis and his council was, to find how they might best deceive the people into further endurance."

But, for once, the poor are rebellious. Madame de Maintenon writes, "The people complain, that Marly and Versailles have impoverished the nation; they wish Louis to be the first despoiled." The King actually saw himself compelled to learn the state of the kingdom, and reduce the expenses of his table.

Even under an absolute monarchy men will have an instinctive sense of justice. The Dauphin, the only son of the King, though of mature age, was excluded from all affairs of state. The people felt much discontent on this account, and their murmurs reached the throne. Louis the Fourteenth has found a panegyrist in Voltaire, who particularly mentions, that he conferred magnificent pensions on distinguished men throughout Europe. Grimm remarks, that "there was an appearance of grandeur and munificence in this proceeding, which cannot dazzle a philosophic observer, when it is recollected, that the monarch knew nothing of the merit of those he rewarded.



He would have done much better to have diminished the taxes upon the people." Setting aside the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in any other view than as it affected the prosperity of the kingdom, it was a measure of political folly. From that time there is an evident change. We cannot do better than quote Grimm's own words.

"L'époque, à jamais fatale à la France, de la révocation de l'édit de Nantes, fut celle de la décadence du royaume et le tombeau de la prospérité publique. Les grands hommes dans tous les genres disparaissent, ou s'il en reste encore, ils sont rares et isolés, comme dans un terrain long temps cultivé et puis tout à coup négligé ; il reste encore par-ci par-là quelques plantes qui déposent de la prospérité précédente, sans pouvoir en retracer l'image."

The old age of Louis must have been full of mortifications, too justly incurred by his own conduct ; the various accusations brought against him were sufficiently humiliating. They were dissatisfied with the ministers that he continued in his service. The great secret, however, of public discontent lay in his change of fortune. The ill success of the wars in which he had engaged, the pressure of want, the court no longer splendid, and Louis and Madame de Maintenon in the winter of life. Few kings, says Anquetil, have been so oppressed by burdens in their last days, as Louis

the Fourteenth. War, famine, the necessary augmentation of taxes, a change of ministry, domestic embarrassments, and the deaths of many of his family, who were dear to him, all came together. The loss of his son, who died in 1710, at the age of fifty, was a heavy blow. Louis loved him as a father, though he was not willing to share with him his political confidence.

The Duke of Burgundy, grandson to Louis, became, by the death of his father, heir to the throne. It would seem, that the King profited by that great admonisher, death ; the reserve he had practised towards his son was relaxed towards his grandson ; he conversed openly with him. The change in the Dauphin's manners, from this period, was striking. His father had treated him with reserve and austerity, which naturally produced great embarrassment and timidity. Among the three generations, father, son, and grandson, there had existed the utmost constraint, always fatal to happiness and the developement of character. After the death of his father, the Duke of Burgundy became gay, animated, and dignified, receiving the society which collected in the saloons at Marly with courtesy, and even diffusing among them the most benign influences. His easy and engaging conversation charmed the wise and instructed the young. He had the happy art of mingling history and science with

every-day topics. The French nation were astonished and delighted at the eloquence and wisdom which he continually discovered. They became enthusiastic in their attachment, and looked forward with rapture to serving a king, who called forth their warmest affection. There are courtesies that are beyond acquirement ; such was his attention to birth, to age, to rank, and to the wants and comfort of all around him. The influence he exerted on the Court was soon apparent. Hunting and gaming had formerly been the principal topics of conversation. A higher tone became easy and natural. To the wonder, expressed at what was considered his change of character, his intimate companions replied ; " He is now, to *you*, what he always was to *us*." But circumstances repressed his gayety, and gave an air of reserve and embarrassment to his manner. His reputation spread throughout the nation. Madame de Maintenon was charmed to find a friend in whom she could confide, and yielded to him her entire confidence. She instructed him in what manner he might best win the good graces of the monarch, and, aided by his charming little wife, his success was complete. Louis, grave and reserved, even to austerity, with his son, became a tender and trusting father to his grandson.

When peace was proclaimed between Louis and the Duke of Savoy, Adelaide, his daughter,

was sent to France as the *gage*, and to be the bride of the Duke of Burgundy. The King, heartily tired of the war, which had afforded only a succession of losses and mortifications, received the young Adelaide as the angel of peace. He went to meet her at Montargis, on the 4th of November, 1696. Madame de Maintenon wrote immediately to her mother on her arrival, expressing the perfect satisfaction of Louis.

“He is charmed,” she writes, “with her deportment, her grace, her politeness, and her modesty. She has all the winning simplicity of eleven, with the maturity of more advanced years. Her disposition appears to be as amiable as her exterior is faultless. She has only to speak to discover the quickness of her intellect. Her manner of hearing conversation, all her movements, her countenance, her very looks, discover that nothing escapes her attention. Je ne puis m’empêcher,” says Madame, “de rémercier votre Altesse Royale de nous donner une enfant, qui, selon toutes les apparences fera les délices de la cour and sera la gloire de son siècle. . . . . Vous me faites trop d’honneur, Madame, d’aprouver que je lui donne mes soins. Votre Altesse Royale m’a laissé si peu de chose à faire ! Je les fornerai à empêcher que les autres ne la gâtent ; mais peut-être commencerai-je par la

gâter moi-même.”\* The young princess was placed at Saint Cyr, and fully answered the expectations she had inspired. Her education seems to have been one different from the age ; she was instructed in household details, and voluntarily surrendered all the precedence of rank for the charms of friendship and equal companionship. Despising the luxury and indolence in which young persons, far inferior to herself in station, indulged, she was always active and occupied, and refused to take any recreation till her lessons were accomplished. The ceremony of the nuptials was performed three months after a general peace was signed at Ryswick, in September, 1697, the Princess was then only twelve, the Duke of Burgundy, fifteen. When first presented to each other they appear to have formed an attachment, which continued to increase. Never were two young people more calculated to inspire it by the virtues and graces of their character. The marriage was celebrated with the utmost

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\* “I cannot refrain from thanking your Royal Highness for giving us a child, who, according to all appearances, will be the delight of the court and the glory of her age. You do me too much honor in requesting that I would bestow my cares upon her. Your Royal Highness has left but little to accomplish. I shall content myself with preventing others from spoiling her ; but, perhaps, I shall begin by spoiling her myself.”

splendor. Though their subsequent engagement was clouded by events of a political nature, and the renewed hostility of the father of Adelaide, Duke of Savoy, and by the austere treatment of the Dauphin towards his son, yet the gentleness of their demeanor had preserved harmony.

The young prince, during the life of his father, had always observed the most affectionate respect towards him, and never attempted to break down the barrier which it pleased parental authority to raise between them. By this means he escaped many unpleasant remarks to which the unsuspecting Adelaide subjected herself by her confiding gayety. She never, however, discovered any resentment in return, but practised a thousand winning ways to restore the Dauphin's good humor, and sometimes succeeded. It was evident, that the father had conceived a jealousy towards his son, and took pleasure in mortifying him. The Prince had a taste for mechanics which often amused his leisure hours. This innocent and even praiseworthy occupation drew upon him parental reproaches. He often publicly reprehended him, which could not but deeply mortify a young man of twenty-six. Many instances are given of his perfect self-command in the most trying times. Such was the young man, now relieved from this thralldom by the death of an austere father, and he soon discovered, by his

subsequent conduct, the deference he had paid to parental authority, however unjust. Louis perceived that his grandson was full of talent and good sense, and he began to share with him the tenderness which he had felt for Adelaide. In a short time, he consulted him on affairs of state, and determined to rest upon him the fatigue of government.

The astonishment which this conduct of Louis, hitherto so tenacious of authority, excited in the Court was extreme. The Dauphin was thirty when his grandfather threw upon him the weight of the kingdom. From this time he sought to study out its highest welfare. His manners were respectful and affectionate to Madame de Maintenon, whom he loved most tenderly for her love to his Adelaide. Never elated by the favor of the King, never foolishly confiding, he avoided all secret cabals, and might be said to be the model of what a prince ought to be. He possessed an intuitive knowledge of human nature, and studied men in their actions, in their words, and in their characters. He never employed any one without a thorough investigation of his principles and habits, and, when once decided, he suffered no idle rumors to shake his confidence. It is not our purpose to enter into his method of governing. "His conduct," says Simon, "proceeded from a principle, which he expressed to

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the despotic Louis. 'Les rois sont faits pour les peuples, et non pas les peuples pour les rois.' " A more happy union could hardly be imagined, than that which existed between the wedded pair, and it seemed as if their gentle manners, and the affection they inspired, had given them the liberty to say what they pleased to the venerable couple. Adelaide always called Madame de Maintenon "ma tante," and felt for her the tenderness and confiding love of a daughter. In public her deportment towards both her and the King was serious and deferential; when alone with them, she was full of gayety and fascination. Her figure was peculiarly light and graceful; whatever she did had its own charm. Sometimes she sported round them, perched upon the arms of their chairs, caressed and embraced them, gave her advice unasked, made them laugh when they tried to be sober, and committed a thousand little follies, for which they loved her the better. The King finally became so attached to her that he would not suffer her to be absent. When she did not appear at supper, owing to some party of pleasure suited to her age, a cloud came over him, and he discovered the vexation and weariness of a pettish old man. Adelaide was careful not to be absent often, and to return early, always hastening to him before he retired, and amusing him with the recital of the *fête*. This



*empressement* might be affected for a short time, but with the Princess it was always continued ; even during indisposition she forgot herself in her devotion to her aged friends, and would arise from a sick-bed and hasten to his presence.

In the affection of these two young people, in the birth of their son, and in the long-tried devotedness of Madame de Maintenon, Louis seemed to experience a degree of tranquillity, which he had not known for many years. On the 5th of February he missed Adelaide at her usual hour of visiting him, and learned, that she had not left her bed on account of indisposition. Her disorder continued increasing, and, on the Thursday following, they despaired of her life. On Friday she expired, just one week from the time that she was seized. The King was present when she died, and both he and Madame de Maintenon were so entirely overcome, that they could not see the Dauphin, who was shut up in his chamber with his brothers and confessor.

The first time he met the King, they could neither of them speak, but embraced each other in profound silence, interrupted by sobs and tears. When Louis had in some measure recovered himself he was struck with the wild and peculiar expression of the Dauphin's countenance ; he called for his physician, and desired him to feel his pulse. The physician ordered him to bed.

It soon became apparent, that he was seized with the disorder, of which his wife had died. He desired to have high mass said. All the religious services of the church were scrupulously observed, and "he closed his eyes for ever, with perfect resignation, on the eighteenth day of the month, in the blessed hope of immortal life, and a reunion with his beloved Adelaide." Their eldest son, a boy of uncommon promise, immediately began to droop, and in a few days followed his father and mother to the grave. The ignorance of the times, and the uncommon number of deaths in one family, led many to resort to their usual suspicions of poison. There was but one person on whom these suspicions were likely to fall, and that one was the Duke of Orleans, afterwards *Regent*. Fortunately, however, for his fame, others fell a sacrifice to the malady, particularly the nurses and attendants, and they discovered the disorder to be the *small-pox*.

The death of the Dauphin was deeply felt by the excellent Fenelon, who had been his preceptor, and early formed his mind to virtue. He lived two years after his illustrious pupil, devoting himself to his duties, and died at the age of sixty-five.

"Louis the Fourteenth," says Marshal Villars, "supported his misfortunes with heroic fortitude. The first time I had the honor of seeing him after

them was at Marly. The monarch for a few moments yielded to the tenderness of a father and shed tears, but, soon resuming his firmness, said in a touching tone, 'You see, Monsieur le Maréchal, my situation ; there are few such instances as mine. In one week I have lost my son, grandson, granddaughter, and their little boy who was playing around me, all giving the fairest promise of life and happiness, all tenderly beloved. God punishes me, and I have deserved it ; perhaps I may suffer less in the other world.' ” We forget, for a moment, his persecution of the Huguenots, we shut our ears to the groans of his famishing subjects, and pity the desolate, broken-hearted old man. We do not find, however, that amidst his causes for self-condemnation, any remorse for the slaughtered Huguenots was mingled. He seems uniformly to have forgotten, that they were Frenchmen and his own subjects. We can only account for this insensibility by the manner in which he yielded himself to the Jesuits, who obtained complete power over his conscience ; to Le Tellier, and afterwards to La Chaise, who was his confessor. He had a chateau built for the father, at the end of the present Boulevards-neufs, which was then called Mont Louis, the site of the celebrated cemetery in Paris, which still bears the name of Père la Chaise. The Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Maine, and

numerous courtiers used to pay their unwilling respects, in this now consecrated place, to the confessor of the King. The ashes of many, who were then agitated by fierce opposing passions and bitter enmity, have since been gathered to this spot, and rest tranquilly beneath the splendid monuments which adorn the cemetery.

It is probable, had Louis known the exact state of the kingdom, his measures might have been more lenient to the Huguenots ; but ignorance in a ruler is almost as great a crime as direct cruelty. Chancellor Le Tellier and Louvois, his son, deceived themselves and the King. All thought uniformity of religion might be produced by rigorous measures. They poorly understand human nature, who suppose persecution makes converts or proselytes. Never was the enthusiasm of the Huguenots so much excited as during the season of the *dragonnades*, when those who refused the sacraments of the Catholic church were dragged through the street, and their bodies burnt. The Protestants assembled, sung psalms in the face of danger, and welcomed the martyrdom which followed. Gleams of truth, with regard to the state of things, occasionally reached the prejudiced mind of Louis, but they were only transient. We do him the justice to believe, that he, at one period, thought Protestantism was extirpated from the country ; his courtiers all told him

so, his confessors confirmed it; and how should he know otherwise, enclosed in his splendid palace? After the peace of Ryswick, he learned, to his astonishment, that Calvinism, notwithstanding his vigorous proceedings, still existed in full vigor, and that, though its meeting-houses were destroyed, and its ministers driven into exile, the work of conversion was still to be achieved. What was to be done? Some even advised to a restoration of the edict of Nantes. This was too mortifying a step to be thought of, and a new rising in the Vivarez and Cevennes, where the Camisards maintained war, prevented all idea of clemency. We cannot enter into the Protestant fanaticism, that infested the mountains of the south; it can only be compared to the delusions of Munster. If any thing could have justified a renewal of severity, these miserable fanatics would have done it. The measures of government, though fluctuating and uncertain, produced but little change to the Huguenots, and were never characterized by any spirit of liberality, or even of tolerance.

In 1714, the life of Louis was apparently drawing to a close, and it became the earnest desire of Madame de Maintenon and the Duke of Maine, that he should leave a will, giving power enough to the latter to balance that which must belong to the Duke of Orleans, his nephew, who was Regent by law, during the minority of the second

son of the Duke of Burgundy, afterwards Louis the Fifteenth. At length, this point was gained, the will was written, and duly signed and sealed, constituting a council, of which the Duke of Orleans was necessarily head. The person of the young King was put under the guard of the council, and the Duke of Maine invested with authority to watch over his education.

It was evident, from the tenor of the will, that Louis only committed to the Duke of Orleans what he could not alienate from him, and that he took every precaution to guard against his abuse of power. The will was deposited in a place in the palace expressly made for it, and closed by an iron door, secured by three locks, the keys of which were intrusted to three different persons. It was not to be opened till after the death of the King, and was then read before the Parliament and the assembled Princes and Peers.

In 1715, Louis became more seriously indisposed, but made great efforts to arrange his affairs. He gave audience to the Persian Ambassador on the 4th of August, and never appeared with more majesty or grandeur. On the 23d, his disorder increased so much, that it was apparent his life must soon terminate. He performed his religious duties with much fervor. As he approached his end, Madame de Maintenon seems to have indulged a natural fear of witnessing his

last death-struggle, and, yielding to the persuasions of Marshal de Villeroy, withdrew from the scene when the King became insensible.

"Many panegyrists," says Anquetil, "have been eager to celebrate the great qualities of Louis the Fourteenth, but none have succeeded better than the Abbé de Maury, in his Funeral Oration before the Academy.

"This monarch," says the Abbé, "had at the head of his armies, Turenne, Condé, Luxembourg, Catinat, Crequi, Boufflers, Montesquieu, Vendôme, Villars, Duquesne, Tourville, and Du Guay. Froisin commanded his squadrons. Colbert, Louvois, and Torcy were his counsellors. Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Massillon announced to him his duties. His first senate had Molé and Lamoignon for chiefs, Talon and d'Aguesseau for organs. Vauban fortified his citadels, Riquet dug his canals; Perrault and Mansard constructed his palaces; Pujet, Girardon, Poussin, Le Sueur, and Le Brun embellished them. Le Notre designed his gardens; Corneille, Racine, Molière, Quinault, La Fontaine, La Bruyère, and Boileau assisted his reasoning powers, and amused his leisure; Montausier, Bossuet, Beavilliers, Fénelon, Huet, Flechier, and the Abbé de Fleury educated his children. Surrounded by this august retinue of immortal genius, supported by great men, that he knew how to place and keep where

they belonged, Louis the Fourteenth presents himself to the regard of posterity."

We can scarcely imagine a more able eulogium than this quotation presents ; — did not a word precede or follow, it gives the analysis of the monarch's character. He knew how to collect men of distinguished talents around him, and had dignity and tact to keep them in their places, and make them his organs. This would seem to argue a high order of intellect ; but it must be remembered, how *despotic* the government and King were at that time. In justice to him, it ought to be admitted, that he had an innate veneration for talents and genius. His early life discovered this trait, in many of the splendid and sometimes ill-judged donations he made. Those who read Guizot's work on the "Civilization of Modern Europe," may find the cause of subsequent events in his admirable analysis of the reign of Louis the Fourteenth. We quote only one sentence. In speaking of the state in which the French nation were left by Louis the Fourteenth, he says ;

"In society there was a great developement of wealth, strength, and intellectual activity of every kind ; and along with this progressive society there was a government essentially stationary, and without means to adapt itself to the movement of the people ; devoted, after half a century



of great splendor, to immobility and weakness, and already fallen, even in the lifetime of its founder, into a decay, almost resembling dissolution."

Thought and inquiry soon lost the despotic power which bound them openly, but could not limit their subtle, secret process. It remained for the succeeding reign to diffuse speculative opinions among the multitude, which afterwards resulted in action, in the *fearful revolution of France*.

When the will of Louis was opened and read, it was observed, like the will of Henry the Eighth, in the way it suited the Regency. The favorite of the Duke of Orleans, Dubois, who rose from obscure life to the rank of Cardinal, under the patronage of the Regent, and at last Prime Minister, was debased by every vice. The Duke of Orleans allowed the Huguenots a respite from persecution. Those who see only the dark side of his character, question whether this forbearance proceeded from any humane principles, ascribing it to his indolence, and yet more to his indifference on the subject of religion. The candid, however, will perceive, that among the vices which debased his character, there were occasionally gleams of a higher nature.

Madame de Maintenon, after the death of Louis, lived in total seclusion at St. Cyr, seldom seeing even her most intimate friends. When

Peter the Great visited France, in 1717, he requested leave to pay his respects to the founder of the noble institution of St. Cyr.

Madame de Maintenon consented, on condition that she might receive him without quitting her bed. "He arrived," she says, "at about seven in the evening, took a seat by the head of my bed, and asked me if I was sick. I answered, yes. He then inquired, what was my indisposition. I replied, old age ; he did not reply, and his interpreter did not appear to understand me. His visit was short ; he desired that the curtains at the foot of my bed might be opened, that he might see me ; you will believe that he was satisfied."

"Because I am tolerably erect," she says, again, "they call me a prodigy, a person to be exhibited. It must be acknowledged, that there is great glory in living to be very old ! They mean to extol me, when they say, 'She reasons justly, she writes with a steady hand,'—great subjects these for self-complacency !" Though she lived several years after Louis the Fourteenth, she was dead to the world. At the time of their marriage the King was forty-eight, and she was fifty. She does not appear to have enjoyed great happiness in the attainment of this object. She says, "The intoxication of gratified ambition lasted but three weeks !" "What a martyrdom," she

exclaimed to a friend, "to be obliged to amuse a man incapable of being amused!" She died on the 15th of April, 1713, without mental or bodily pain.

Philip of Orleans, the Regent, has left but few records of his virtues. He was said to possess wit, eloquence, and amiable manners. His acquisitions were respectable, his temper confiding, and his disposition generous. These, added to the qualities of a warrior, might, under happier tuition, have made him a good man. But Dubois, his preceptor, became his guide and counsellor, and the work of corruption proceeded rapidly. The little esteem in which the public had previously held him, was proved by their suspicions of his poisoning the Duke of Burgundy, with his wife and son. After the death of Louis he became popular; the noblesse, the military, and the Parliament were favorable to him, and this enabled him to set aside the will of the King, and assume the reins of government.

In 1723, he resigned the government into the hands of Louis the Fifteenth, and gave himself up to the wildest excesses of dissipation. After the death of Dubois, he seems to have asserted some dignity of character, but died the same year of apoplexy, at the age of forty-nine. For the degree of quiet the Huguenots enjoyed under his regency, but little credit seems to be accorded to

him. When Lord Stair, the British ambassador, asked permission to address his Highness in behalf of the Protestants condemned to the galleys, he replied, that the application was unnecessary, as he intended, of his own accord, to release them; that they had been falsely represented as a factious people, and he knew, by the slanders implicating himself, that the reports were false. The ambassador was allowed to have a chapel, in which Protestant services were performed on Sundays, in French and English, and the government connived at the measure.

Whatever was the cause of the Regent's clemency, it produced benign effects towards the Huguenots. They now assembled for worship, and educated their children according to their faith; their marriages and baptisms were performed without molestation, while prosperity and the arts began once more to revive among this persevering people.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

## A RECAPITULATION. — STANISLAUS.

A SLIGHT recapitulation of events in a history in itself so complicated, and through which we have been endeavouring to carry one unbroken thread, may not be useless at this period. We began with Francis the First, who came to the throne in 1515. Henry the Second succeeded him in 1559, and discovered a more systematic persecution of the Calvinists, than his father had previously done, issuing an edict inflicting the penalty of death on dissenters, accompanied by an order to the judges, not to mitigate the punishment, as had been the permission in particular cases by Francis. After the death of Henry the Second, the persecution was much less violent. The champions of the new doctrines appear, by their quiet and unoffending course, to have gradually mollified the severity of the edict, without deviating from their steadfast principles. In the subsequent reign of Francis the Second, husband of the unfortunate Mary of Scotland, the execution of the penal statutes was revived by the

Guises. The Calvinists had, by the interval of tranquillity, acquired strength and resolution, and, unable to endure the unprovoked persecution of the Guises, (uncles to the Queen,) determined to take arms in defence of their rights. Several distinguished personages headed the Protestant party, among them Anthony, King of Navarre, Coligni, and the Prince of Condé. The first civil war between the Catholics and Huguenots took place in 1562 in the reign of Charles the Ninth. After a sanguinary conflict at Dreux, a favorable peace was concluded. Shortly afterward the Queen Regent concluded with Philip of Spain "The League of Bayonne," the object of which was, the extermination of the Protestants. Condé and the virtuous Coligni saw in this league, of which they gained secret information, the destruction of their party, and they armed, resolving to strike the first blow. The battle of St. Dennis and the siege of Chartres produced an accommodation. A plan, however, was formed to seize the Prince of Condé and Admiral Coligni, and they escaped to Rochelle, where the war was renewed. At the battle of Jarnac, in 1569, Condé lost his life, and Coligni placed at the head of the army the young Prince of Navarre, whose father had died soon after the peace. At length, after much contest, another peace was concluded by Charles the Ninth, so

favorable to the Huguenots, as to awaken suspicion in many of the party. Liberty of conscience and many other privileges were secured to the Protestants. We need not again refer to the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which followed this detestable appearance of amity, and beguiled thousands to slaughter, both in Paris and the provinces around. This took place the 24th of August, 1572. Nor need we retrace the subsequent captivity of the young Prince of Condé and Henry of Navarre; the latter of whom was obliged professedly to embrace Catholicism and abjure Protestantism. War was again renewed by Henry the Third, and the escape of both of the Protestant heroes, Henry of Navarre and Condé, took place. They, with the King's brother, the Duke of Alençon, became leaders of the Huguenots. Condé procured a German army, to which Elizabeth of England contributed by considerable sums. The fifth peace was concluded in 1576, and on better terms for the Huguenots than any former one, producing great discontent among the Catholics. "The Holy League" was now formed, and France exhibited the strange spectacle of a nation divided into three parties; for, though we have seen, that Henry the Third, from terror, declared himself the head of the League, the Duke of Guise was, in reality, its leader, and it soon became formid-

able to the throne. Thus, the Huguenots, the Royalists, and the Leaguers, were carrying on a civil war against each other, which was denominated "the war of the three Henries." Henry the Third soon found, that Henry of Guise was aiming at the throne; he therefore joined Henry of Navarre, the leader of the Huguenots, to the great indignation of the Pope, by whom he was on that account excommunicated. Henry of Navarre and Bourbon was heir to the crown, and so declared by the King, in case he became a Catholic. The assassination of Henry the Third by James Clement caused the King of Navarre to be acknowledged King of France by a part of the nation. The war still continued with various success, and at length terminated by Henry's formal abjuration of the Protestant faith in 1593; and in 1598 he secured to the Protestants religious liberty by the Edict of Nantes.

Under this edict, no serious disturbances took place till 1621, when the Huguenots held a consultation at Rochelle, which ended in a civil war of a year's duration. Under Louis the Thirteenth, it became the object of his minister, Cardinal Richelieu, to reduce the power of the Huguenots and secure their strong-hold, which was Rochelle. In 1627, this city was besieged, but, it being impossible to take it while the communication with the sea remained open, Riche-



lieu constructed the immense mole across the harbour, a mile in length, which, it will be recollected, reduced the city to famine, and Rochelle yielded. From this time the Protestants were no longer an independent people. Louis the Fourteenth had an able minister in Cardinal Mazarin, who increased the power of the throne. He was also greatly indebted to Colbert for his financial regulations. The Protestants likewise found in Colbert a friend, who understood the true welfare of his country. After his death, the ill-advised Louis the Fourteenth revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1658, and persecution began in all its cruelty.

One of the most disgraceful acts in the reign of Louis was the burning of the Palatinate, in order to distress the enemy for provisions. We have not touched upon it ; in a work of this size, only selections can be made. Every reader of history can make himself familiar with this deed. "A monster," says an historian, "has been found to applaud the massacre of St. Bartholomew, but none ever to excuse the burning of the Palatinate." \*

Had the Duke of Burgundy lived, we might have hoped, that his son, Louis the Fifteenth,

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\* Should this recapitulation be deemed unnecessary, it is easily passed over.

would have grown up under happy influences. But his death deprived the young monarch of an example rare on the Gallic throne ; that of a man who understood the rights of the people, and who possessed a self-regenerating power, that triumphed over early evil propensities. What could be expected but corruption from the influences gathering round the young King ? His great-grandfather's life must have been laid open to him, and he saw numberless deviations from morality therein recorded. " The courtiers," says an historian, " respected in Louis the Fourteenth what they knew it would be culpable to imitate." Like pagans, they worshipped their Jupiter, though a violator of all moral ties. By the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he had assumed the right of destroying religious liberty, and of reigning over the consciences of his subjects. Yet this man was to become the model of the young King, and it was to be his great object to imitate his example. Bossuet, the eloquent pulpit orator, had never inculcated religious liberty. Père la Chaise had assured Louis the Fourteenth, that he might gain absolution for all his sins by reforming (another name for *persecuting*) the heretics. Chancellor Le Tellier had signed the edict which proscribed three millions of citizens, and triumphed in the act on the bed of death. Louvois, his son, without the pretence

of religious fanaticism, had urged the same persecution by fire and sword, and instigated unrelenting measures of cruelty towards the Huguenots, for the purpose of becoming, like Mars, the god of war.

It is not necessary to dwell on the disgraceful regency of the Duke of Orleans, where vice in its grossest forms reigned triumphant without the hypocrisy of disguise. It has previously been said, that the Protestants found a cessation of hostilities under the Regent. He undoubtedly had great dread of renewing the horrors which followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; and, upon discovering symptoms of reanimating hostility among the party, he actually thought of annulling the protests against them, permitting the fugitives to return to the kingdom, and granting them liberty of conscience. But to pursue so righteous a conduct required principle and resolution, not transient purposes, and we find no such favor for the Protestants.

The Duke of Orleans began by reforming the establishment, the buildings, and the equipage of Louis the Fourteenth. The young King, immediately after his great-grandfather's death, was conducted to Vincennes, and placed under the care of Le Maréchal de Villeroi, who, Duclos tells us, when the *fête* of St. Louis was celebrated at the Tuileries, and an immense multitude

was collected, led the monarch from one window to another, pointing to the populace; "Look, look, my King," he said, "all these people belong to you, they are your servants, and you are the master of them all!" Such were the early lessons that Louis received from his instructor.

The Duke of Bourbon succeeded the Duke of Orleans in the regency, and is usually called *Monsieur le Duc*. He was said to have been dissolute in his youth, but the sudden death of his father produced a great change in his character, and he became religious in the observance of Catholic rites, even to fanaticism. When promoted to the regency he believed himself announcing enlarged views by renewing the persecution of the Protestants. He issued a declaration fully in accordance with the severe decrees of Louis the Fourteenth. He prohibited all reformed physicians, surgeons, or apothecaries, from exercising their different professions. Afterwards, by the mediation of England and Holland, some modifications were made in favor of foreign Protestant merchants established in France, and particularly individuals of those nations whose privileges were founded upon treaties dangerous to infringe. Political expediency in these cases was often consulted. Sweden embraced the occasion to invite the French Huguenots to settle in that country. This invitation was too alluring to be

rejected, and once more foreign nations profited by the bigotry and intolerance of the French government. The new Regent, charmed with the easy compromise he now found himself able to make, between his former habits and present professions of religious zeal, issued several other laws, and among them one against paupers. The futility of such a law, which presents no resource for twenty-eight or thirty thousand beggars, (the number at which they were computed in Paris alone,) must strike every reflecting mind. Pauperism can only be prevented by cultivating industry, and allotting suitable employments and rewards to the destitute.

During the regency of the Duke of Orleans, the marriage of the King with the Infanta of Spain had been decided on, and the young Princess had been brought to France, and received with due honors. But she was too young for the marriage to take place. Monsieur the Duke perceived, that his power depended on the life of the King, who was but fifteen, and his future bride but eight. If Louis died without heirs, the crown would pass to the King of Spain, or, at best, to the Orleans branch, which would cut off himself, being of the Bourbon line, from all authority. This consideration took full possession of his mind, and he resolved, that the Infanta should be sent back to Spain, and a more

favorable alliance for his regency formed. The next step was to select a queen, safe for the hereditary line, having no pretensions of her own. Maria Leczinski was finally chosen. She was the daughter of Stanislaus, the former King of Poland. His history is an extraordinary one.

He was the son of a Polish nobleman, and, at the age of twenty-seven, was sent Ambassador, in 1704, by the Assembly of Warsaw, to the Court of Sweden. Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, who had conquered Poland, was so much charmed with the frankness and sincerity of his deportment, and so much captivated by the peculiar sweetness of his countenance and disposition, that he finally offered him the crown of Poland, and Stanislaus was acknowledged as its King. He was afterwards compelled to retire, Charles being defeated by Peter the Great in 1709. Stanislaus took refuge in Alsace, where he was protected by the Regent, the Duke of Orleans. Augustus, who had now ascended the throne, complained to the Regent, and even sent an envoy to demand the surrender of Stanislaus. "Tell your King," said Orleans, "that France has always been the asylum of unfortunate princes." Stanislaus lived contented in this comparatively obscure situation, devoting himself to science and philosophy, and deeply engaged in the education of his daughter. On a certain day he summoned

her to his presence. "My child," said he, "we have found it easy to bear misfortune, it has not robbed us of our happiness ; a new trial awaits us ; we must learn to bear prosperity with equal fortitude." "O heavens !" she exclaimed, "you are then restored to the throne of Poland." "No, my child," he replied, "but you are chosen Queen of France !" Probably the idea had, before the application, never for a moment presented itself to his mind. His daughter had shared his exile and his wanderings ; with filial duty she had remained constant by his side, though her beauty and gentleness had already attracted admirers. The Duke of Bourbon could not doubt that one raised from exile and distress to the throne of France would be wholly subservient to his will. Fleury, the confessor and instructor of the King, approved of the choice, and, in 1725, the marriage took place.

Upon the death of King Augustus, Stanislaus, invited by a large party, returned to Poland to ascend the throne ; but a new competitor appeared in the young Elector of Saxony, and, being supported by the Empress of Russia, was chosen King, though in opposition to the majority. Once more Stanislaus was compelled to fly, and wandered in disguise, a price being set upon his head by the Russians. When peace was concluded between the Russians and French in 1736, it was agreed, that Stanislaus should resign all pretensions to the

throne, but still retain the empty title of King of Poland and Lithuania, and be put in peaceable possession of the duchies of Lorraine and Bar ; but that, after his death, these duchies should be united to the crown of France. From this time he appears to have led a life conformed to his taste, and his subjects found the virtues of their ancient sovereigns revived in him. He made useful establishments, founded colleges, and built hospitals. Few men have left behind them more records of active benevolence. -

In his youth he had accustomed himself to fatigue, and rejected those luxuries which often become habitual to men in high rank. He lay on a hard mattress, and usually waited on himself. He was extremely temperate, even to abstemiousness, self-denying, gentle, affable, and compassionate. Though literary in his tastes, he never suffered books to interfere with active duties. Notwithstanding the smallness of his revenues, he was one of the wealthiest potentates of Europe, for he required but little for himself. He deposited sums of money, sometimes to the amount of eighteen thousand crowns, with the magistrates to purchase grain when at a low price, to be reserved for the poor, and sold at a moderate price, when it should become scarce.\* We

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\* It is said this money is still increasing, and its good effects are still felt.



cannot but remember Louis, surrounded by specimens of grain, and the great men of his *glorious age*, studying, in the splendid halls of Versailles, how they could best and most effectually *deceive* the people into submission in a time of famine.

Stanislaus delighted to encourage the fine arts. A young painter once applied to him, and offered a picture, which the courtiers severely criticized. The prince selected the beauties of the performance, praised them, and purchased the picture, paying a generous price. "Do ye not see, Gentlemen," said he, turning to his courtiers, "that this poor man must provide for his family by his labors? If you discourage and dishearten him, he is undone."

He wrote several works of philosophy, politics, and morality, which were collected and published in France, under the title of "*Œuvres du Philosophe Bienfaisant*." In one of them he draws the following picture of a philosopher, which has been said to resemble his own character.

"The true philosopher ought to be free from prejudices, and to know the value of reason; he ought neither to think the higher ranks of life of more value than they are, nor to treat the lower orders of mankind with greater contempt than they deserve; he ought to enjoy pleasures without being a slave to them, riches without being

attached to them, honors without pride or vanity; he ought to support disappointments (or want of popularity) without either fearing or courting them; he ought to reckon what he possesses sufficient for him, and regard what he has not as unnecessary; he ought to be equal in every fortune, always tranquil, always cheerful; he ought to love order, and to observe it in all his actions; he ought to be severe to himself, but indulgent to others; he ought to be frank and ingenuous without rudeness, polite without falsehood, complaisant without baseness; he ought to have the courage to disregard every kind of glory, and to reckon as nothing philosophy itself."

With an ardor in the pursuit of good which sometimes disturbs the philosophy of the best regulated minds, he was accustomed to read and write till a late hour. Often, when fatigued, he took his pipe and indulged in the tranquil pleasure, with which many probably can sympathize, of smoking and thinking.

In his life of wandering and privation he had relinquished the artificial forms of society, and, instead of wearing a *robe-de-chambre*, when he undressed for the night, used a woollen riding-coat for his *dishabille*. His daughter Maria, after she became Queen of France, made him a visit at Luneville. As she was often the companion of his late hours, she found fault with his

uncomely riding-coat, and insisted on sending him one of the embroidered silk *robes-de-chambre* used at the court. Stanislaus consented, saying good-humoredly, he would wear it for her *dear sake*. Never was there an affection more perfect than that which existed between the father and daughter. They parted with promises of soon meeting, for Maria found in her father's wise counsels a solace for evils that it required wisdom to endure patiently. The embroidered *robe-de-chambre* was not forgotten ; it soon arrived, accompanied by tender expressions of filial love, and other little remembrances, that her present knowledge of luxury made it painful to her to think her father did not possess. From this time the woollen riding-coat was thrown aside, and the silk dressing-gown took its place.

It is melancholy to think, that the gift of a daughter's love should have proved her father's winding-sheet ! He was one evening alone in his cabinet, and it is supposed, that, in lighting his pipe, the silk dress, filled with down, took fire. The efforts he made to extinguish it awoke an ancient attendant, who had been with him while king of Poland. He rushed into the room and injured himself in his endeavours to extinguish the fire which now enveloped his master. Stanislaus lingered a short time after the sad accident, which occasioned his death. When on his death-

bed, he was asked by one of his courtiers for directions for the funeral obsequies. He replied, with a smile, "You may do as you please with what you can keep with you ; God will take care of the better part."

"His death," says Grimm, "was an irreparable loss for Lorraine, and nothing could be more touching, than the grief and mourning diffused among the inhabitants of Nancy and Luneville. During the administration of the last sacraments, the streets were thronged, and groans and cries resounded from every part. When the people were informed that he was no more, they insisted on seeing him, and the doors of the *château* were thrown open. All pressed round the lifeless body, some kneeling in silent prayer, others uttering lamentations, and others bedewing with tears what he had termed his 'worthless dust.' But is that dust worthless, that calls forth the holiest sympathies of our nature, that connects our memories with the undying soul which once animated it?" The hearse of Louis the Fourteenth, when borne through the streets of Paris, was constantly met by insults and the grossest expressions of joy. How many funeral orations were pronounced in his memory, — how much panegyric lavished ! Yet who would exchange the tribute offered to Stanislaus by the poorest, as well as the richest, of his subjects ?

He was born at Léopold, in 1677, and died at Luneville, in 1766.

Of Maria Leczinski, Queen of France, we hear but little, though we can hardly doubt, but that she was far happier as the daughter of Stanislaus, than as the wife of Louis the Fifteenth. The early part of her wedded life seems to have passed without any open violation of decency on his part. Probably Cardinal Fleury long preserved an influence over his mind. Even after he formed connexions disgraceful to him, he seems to have fully acknowledged the excellences of his wife, and, when he was taken ill at Metz, sent for her, and dismissed the Duchess de Châteauroux, who had accompanied him to the field of war.

The Queen hastened to him, and found him dangerously ill. He entreated her forgiveness, and prayed that his life might be prolonged to prove his penitence. His remorse deeply affected not only her, but his subjects. The nation seemed to have but one prayer; it was for the recovery of their sovereign, "their *bien-aimé*." "What have I done, to be so beloved?" said Louis to the Queen.

The pacific policy of the minister, Fleury, had produced tranquillity to the French nation. He had abolished the imposts, that made his predecessor unpopular. He brought the coinage to a just standard, and on the subjects of finance the

Parliament had no cause to complain. One thing, however, was required of him by the Pope ; and this was the condemnation of Jansenism, and the support of the bull, or constitution, *Unigenitus*.

The principle of Jansenism was, to free the consciences of men from the arbitrary will of their spiritual confessors. Luther had first shaken off the authority of Rome, and produced a reformation that had convulsed Christendom. Calvin had succeeded him, and, as we have seen, shook the throne of France. But now the spirit of reformation seemed quenched. Calvinism had long been stigmatized as rebellion, and the high-born viewed it with disgust. Still, however, there was a feeling of indignation at the usurpations of the Holy See. Jansenism was reformation in a milder form ; so mild, that, had it not been persecuted, it would probably have died a natural death, or merely have been the subject of theological disputation. But the Jesuits set themselves violently in opposition to its doctrines. They procured a decree from Louis the Fourteenth, ordering the Abbey of Port Royal des Champs to be destroyed. This was the retreat of Pascal, of Arnauld, and the Jansenists ; of men whose piety and virtue had made them objects of reverence ; and, when the building was

razed to the ground, a general sentiment of indignation prevailed. As we have frequently had occasion to speak of the Jesuits, it may not be amiss to give a short account of their order, in opposition to the Jansenists.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

## THE JESUITS. — THE REIGN OF LOUIS THE FIFTEENTH.

THE society of Jesuits, founded by Ignatius Loyola about 1539, was called by him, "The Society of Jesus." The members were bound not only to the usual vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience to their superiors, but to go without recompense whithersoever the Pope should send them as missionaries, devoting all their powers to the service of the church. Paul the Third issued a special bull in 1540, establishing the society. The Pope granted to them privileges such as no other body of men ever possessed, and gave to them a spiritual power almost equal to his own. They were dispersed among all classes of society. Though subordinate to their own constitution, all were bound to obey the head, (even in opposition to their private convictions,) who held his office for life, and resided in Rome. There is no doubt but the Jesuits formed the most effectual barrier to the progress of the Reformation, or Protestantism. The Franciscan order of monks began to be considered coarse



and vulgar, the Dominican rigid and gloomy, but, in the sixteenth century, the Jesuits were a learned, polished, and cheerful order. They were accommodating in their manners, and adopted a spirit of worldly policy, that has made the name of Jesuit proverbial. So great was their reputation for learning, that pupils were sent to their academies, even from Protestant countries. A number of women in Italy and on the Lower Rhine formed a plan of creating an order on the same principles, and calling themselves *Jesuitines*; but this the arbitrary brothers would not permit, and compelled them to relinquish their design. In England and the Protestant states of the North they could gain no footing. At length the Catholic clergy, statesmen, and jurists began to perceive, that the society was doing injury throughout Christendom. They intrigued in politics and government; and the University of Paris declared the order to be useless. They, however, contrived to gain a footing in France, and, protected and encouraged by the Guises, were highly instrumental in depriving the French Protestants of their rights. It will be recollected, that they were banished from France in 1594, on account of the attempt by John Chastel on the life of Henry the Third, and were afterwards recalled by Henry the Fourth as instructors of youth. Though important at a later period to

the German empire, by becoming the confidential advisers of Ferdinand the Second and the Third, a storm burst over them from France and the Netherlands. The ancient hostility of the University of Paris revived against them, and united with the Jansenists to crush them. The pen of Pascal, who belonged to the Jansenists, was employed, and his "Provincial Letters," exposing the mischievous doctrines and practices of the Jesuits, written with a wit and argument that bore all before them, were read throughout Europe in 1666. Louis the Fourteenth began to interfere, on the ground that the Jansenists opposed the infallibility of the Pope. Their object was to circulate a higher degree of religious knowledge, to free theology from its chains, and to promote the reading of the Scriptures among the people.

*Port Royal des Champs*, a Cistercian convent, founded in 1233, not far from Versailles and about six leagues from Paris, warmly espoused their cause. In 1626, Angelica, the sister of Antony Arnauld, the zealous supporter of Jansenism, became Abbess of the order. She was a woman distinguished for her piety, intelligence, and personal advantages, and founded a convent in the suburb of St. Jaques at Paris, called *Port Royal de Paris*. Anne of Bourbon, Duchess de Longueville, became their patroness. Boileau

was their friend, and Racine their pupil ; the latter wrote a history of Port Royal.

This society presented a union of great talents, virtue, piety, and learning. Penitents of all conditions made pilgrimages to it, and the fame of its sanctity spread over the Catholic world. When the successor of Innocent the Ninth, Alexander the Seventh, issued the bull against the Jansenist doctrines, the nuns refused to subscribe to it. The noble Angelica endured persecution and insult with the undying spirit of a Christian. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, their adherence to the Jansenist doctrines resulted in the suppression of the order, and the complete destruction of the Abbey Port Royal by the Paris police in 1709. Its ruins are still visited by devout Catholics, and Gregoire has perpetuated its memory in his work entitled, "*Les Ruines de Port Royal*."

To return to the Jesuits. The confessors of Louis the Fourteenth, La Chaise and Le Tellier, procured bulls from Alexander the Seventh against Jansenism, and its ruin, as an order, was completed by the constitution *Unigenitus* ; yet the world was no longer enslaved by the pretensions of the Jesuits. The history of this once powerful order can easily be traced out ; we enter into it no further than is applicable to our history. In 1773, the voice of public opinion throughout

Christendom compelled Clement the Fourteenth to publish his famous bull, "*Dominus ac Redemptor noster*" of July 21st, by which "*The Society of Jesus*" was totally abolished.

The ex-Jesuits, however, though deprived of their offices by the decrees of abolition, could not be annihilated. They were still thought to maintain a constant, though secret, union under superiors, and, in the year 1780, were supposed to be deeply engaged in the schemes of the Illuminati, and were charged with a plot to exterminate Protestantism.

They have made attempts to restore their order, and, in individual instances, ought to have lived down the violent prejudices conceived against them as men. The very term, as before observed, gives the idea of insidious intrigue. Pius the Seventh, in 1814, proposed restoring the order. Colleges have been granted them in Rome, and, in 1815, a college at Modena.

We return to Louis the Fifteenth. Though he had not discovered any noble propensities of character in his youth, yet, for several years after his marriage, he seems to have led a domestic life, and been attached to his queen. He was observant of religious ceremonies, and innocent in his recreations and amusements. He had a small circle of young courtiers, whom he invited to his *petits soupers*, and seemed desirous of escaping

from the dullness of excessive grandeur. At this period there was a promise of something better than his after life exhibited. He preserved a dignity of deportment, that repressed improper familiarity. Once, when his boyish companions endeavoured to turn his minister Fleury into ridicule, the King left the apartment, and was only appeased by the most humble concessions.

It has been asserted, that the coldness of the Queen first alienated the monarch ; but it is much more probable, that his obvious and increasing degeneracy produced that coldness. It has been also said, that her excessive religious feeling operated unfavorably upon his character. But these causes were suggested by a dissolute court. We know little of the private history of kings and queens. To the eye of the world, Maria Leczinsky seems to have given no ground for such reproaches. In the care of her family she found occupation and solace, and preserved the calm and equal temper, that seems to have been an inheritance from her father. We find that when Louis, in his temporary seasons of remorse, and during his dangerous illness at Metz, promised reformation, she listened with hope and indulgence. Her conduct through life was that of a woman who had not trusted her happiness to an earthly dependence. She devoted herself to the education of her children with as much zeal and activity as the

lowest subject in her kingdom. Louis conducted himself towards her with the outward respect that her virtues demanded ; and, if her life was one of trial, she never seems, by complaint, to have drawn upon the often contemptuous sympathy and compassion of the dissolute or unfeeling.

During the reign of Louis the Fifteenth, we behold a new aspect of things. A different race of men had sprung up, such men as Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and D'Alembert. They brought with them a mass of intellect, that must find subjects for investigation ; and what were these subjects ? A King who degraded royalty, nobles treading on the lower classes, a priesthood striving for secular power and disgracing itself by its ambition and venality.

Instances of ecclesiastical persecution were prominent in the minds of men. The torture and death of the innocent Calas,\* unjustly accused

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\* The history of this unfortunate man is too well known to need any minute details. He was a native of Languedoc, and born in 1698. Having been educated in the Protestant religion, he scrupulously refused to make any surrender of his principles. This drew upon him the indignation of bigoted Catholics. His standing in society was highly respectable as a wealthy merchant. His family consisted of his wife, three sons, and three daughters. They had all lived together in the utmost love and harmony, and were, like their parents, educated as Protestants. It

of the murder of his son, the execution of La Barre for pretended sacrilege, and a thousand

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appears, however, that, as the children attained the age of maturity, they had been suffered to exercise the right of religious opinion, as two of the sons were supposed to lean to the Catholic religion.

Marc Antoine, the eldest, had discovered symptoms of melancholy for some time, and, on one fatal morning, he was found strangled in his father's house. We may picture to ourselves the distress of the family; but what could equal their horror, when they learned, that the aged father, then on the borders of seventy, was accused of murdering him, because he had become a Catholic?

He was tried, broken on the wheel, and executed. He suffered with heroic fortitude. The youngest son, who was a Protestant, was banished from the kingdom; the mother and the daughters were acquitted, but their estate was confiscated. They repaired to Geneva. Voltaire, who resided at Ferney, became deeply engaged in the case; he satisfied himself, that Calas had been unjustly accused and barbarously executed. He wrote vigorously on the subject, and demanded the attention of the public to the horrible deed. The case became universally known; foreign princes, outraged by a judgment so monstrous, sent aid to the unfortunate family. Catharine of Russia was earnest that a revision of the trial should be demanded, and sent them ample succour. Then, indeed, a new sight was beheld; the heart-broken mother, followed by her son and two daughters, traversed the kingdom to throw themselves at the feet of Louis the Fifteenth, and demand justice. They came as *Protestants*, to demand justice of *Catholics*!

Fifty judges once more examined the circumstances

every-day instances of private despotism all passed in review. A change was necessary, was inevitable. A new era had arisen. Even the weak monarch began to perceive, that royalty was on the decay ; "but it will last as long as I do," was his consolatory reflection. The doctrines of reform had been tried by the Huguenots in vain. New armies appeared, a new leader was found, and all clustered round the standard of INFIDELITY. Then appeared hosts of philosophers, and religion itself became the object of attack. It is not wonderful, that this violent reaction was produced. The nation burst from its swaddling bands and sprung into action. A new

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with the utmost scrutiny, and declared Calas altogether innocent !

What now availed to them the restitution of their property, by the commands of the King ? or what the sympathy and notice of people in the highest ranks of society, who strove to outdo each other in acts of kindness to the mourning family ? The horrible deed could not be recalled, the ministers of torture and death had completed their work, and the guiltless and aged man had been condemned as a malefactor. Yet one restitution was precious to them ; his fair fame was restored, and his untarnished virtue proclaimed to the world. We of another age see important results flowing from this event. A publicity had been given to it, which aroused the energies of many minds ; the warm and animated appeals of indignant humanity could never, from that time, be stifled.



intellectual developement took place. Every man felt, that he had a right *to think*; and those, who had no materials for thought, found it easy to pull down the old fabrics, overgrown with ivy and nightshade; but they could not rebuild, and this work remained for the new philosophers.

It is easy to look back and prophesy the tendency of the nation to revolution, but no human imagination could picture the horrors which afterward took place. At this period it might be considered a revolution of thought, which spread through all classes, united with an immoderate pursuit of pleasure, a total separation of reason from morality, and a selfish thirst of gain, that destroyed the holy influences of human sympathy. The power which Madame de Pompadour obtained over Louis, at the time the Dauphin was married to a Spanish princess, hastened the destiny of the nation. Her association with the philosophers of the day, united to talent and personal graces, won their favor.

As Marchioness de Pompadour, she became the patroness of learning and the arts, collected books, pictures, and statuary, and encouraged the military school. At length her ambition took a bolder flight; she turned her attention to state affairs, filled the most important offices with her favorites, and was said to have involved France in the war against Frederic the Second. Her

reply to one of the courtiers, who complimented her on the power which her charms still maintained over the King, was not that of a weak woman. "You are mistaken," said she, "I bind him by the chains of habit." In her boudoir were held the councils of state, and the ministers were creatures of her own appointment. Louis, though present, scarcely spoke, and, it is said, he sometimes took refuge from her arbitrary power in the apartment of the Queen, to whom he still turned in moments of remorse or suffering. But how could the servile slave of Pompadour, or the dissolute Sultan of Parc-au-cerfs, find solace in this pure atmosphere? Far more congenial to him that which Dante describes, as pervading the second circle of the infernal regions,

"La bufera infernal che mai non resta." \*

The Marchioness had a mind capable of comprehending the movements of the day. Voltaire celebrated her wit and beauty, and paid court to her; Montesquieu presented her with his *Esprit des Lois*; Diderot solicited her aid when his *Encyclopédie* was prohibited; and she extended her patronage to Quesnay, who founded the sect of Political Economists.

It was during this state of things, that the

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\* "The infernal tornado which is never still."

Archbishop, Christophe de Beaumont, directed his religious zeal against Jansenism, and endeavoured to revive the bull *Unigenitus*. No one, who did not subscribe to it, was to receive Christian burial. The Parliament declared, that this bull was no article of faith, and a violent quarrel arose between the clergy and Parliament.

Madame de Pompadour gives a picture of the times ;— “ The King is weary, like every one else ; the quarrels of Parliament and the clergy torment him. . . . . I think this priesthood, for the most part, to be composed of vain, ambitious men, bad subjects of the King, and worse servants of God. But their credit is unfortunately so great, that we must respect them. The King feels that the Parliament is supporting the rights of the crown against the clergy ; nevertheless, he is compelled to punish his friends, and caress his enemies.”

In 1754, the Dauphiness was confined with her second son. This child was afterwards Louis the Sixteenth !

The works of the new philosophy began to illuminate France, the intellect of the middle classes to bud and blossom, while the social edifice was falling to decay. The treasury was drained, and the finances exhausted, without even an account of expenditures. In the midst of this confusion war was declared, and the peace purchased at

Aix-la-Chapelle. In North America contests arose ; the French possessed Canada and Louisiana ; the first commanding the mouth of the St. Lawrence, the other that of the Mississippi. The limits betwixt Canada and Nova Scotia were disputed. Braddock attacked Fort du Quesne, on the Ohio, but was defeated by the French, who had enlisted the Indians on their side. When this news reached France, Madame de Pompadour expressed her delight at the alliance with the Indians. " Not," she said, " that I actually approve of their eating the dead, but they have served *us*, and we must not quarrel with these honest people for such trifles."

The society of France, at this period, may be compared to one of our noble monarchs of the North American forest, singled out for destruction. While the fire is laid at the root and rapidly ascends within, while the flames are blazing from its summit, the foliage is fresh and green below, yet the work of destruction is silently going on, and must go on, till its ruin is completed. Madame de Pompadour strove to atone for her profusion by establishing manufactories, erecting public buildings, and encouraging the arts ; but this only served to exhaust the treasury more, and cause additional taxes.

The dignified and manly conduct of the Dauphin, son of Louis, and the virtues of his wife,

the Dauphiness, do not seem to have created any shame or self-reproach in the bosom of the King. The public no longer restrained their indignation ; their contempt was demonstrated by songs and caricatures.

In 1757, as Louis was proceeding to his carriage from the palace of Versailles, a man stabbed him in the side with a penknife. His name was Damiens ; the wound was slight, but his confessions, incoherent as they were, served to implicate others in the crime. The Jansenists were accused, and the whole court was filled with suspicion and animosity. In 1764, Madame de Pompadour died, at the age of forty-four years. Even the chains of habit, of which she boasted, seem to have been easily loosened, for the King discovered little regret for her death. In 1765, the death of the Dauphin took place, and the Dauphiness did not long survive him. This was a heavy blow to the Queen ; she lingered through three melancholy years, and at last found a refuge in the grave. When her death took place, Louis was seized with paroxysms of grief and remorse. He remembered her virtues and his own unworthiness, and many were sanguine enough to believe, that his reformation would follow. A short time showed the fallacy of this judgment. Maria had borne to Louis two sons and eight daughters. At the period of her death, only four of her chil-

dren were living, Adelaide, Victoire, Sophie, and Louise. In the *Memoirs of Madame Campan*, we find an amusing account of their domestic life. "These daughters," says Madame Campan, "had, in their august mother, Maria Leckzinski, the noblest model of every social and pious virtue; by her eminent qualities, her modesty and dignity, this princess threw a veil over those vices, which unhappily were too obvious in the King; and her noble and imposing aspect secured to him the respect due to power."

The work of Madame Campan is so well known, both in the original and in translation, that it is unnecessary to quote from it; but the neglected state of the princesses, the little interest their father took in their society, and the total absence of mutual confidence and affection, is so well illustrated in the following description, that we give it for those who may not chance to recollect it.

"Louis the Fifteenth saw but little of his family; he descended every morning by a private staircase, to the apartment of Madame Adelaide; sometimes he took coffee there. Adelaide rang a bell that informed Victoire of the visit of the King. Victoire rang one for Sophie and hastened to her sister's apartment. Sophie in her turn rang for Louise. The apartments of the princesses were distant, and that of Louise the

most remote. This poor princess was very small and unfortunate in her figure ; to be in season to meet her father, she was obliged to run with all her might through a number of rooms, and, notwithstanding her efforts, often arrived only in time to embrace him, before he departed for the chase.

“ In the evening at six o’clock, Mesdames,” says Madame du Campan, “ interrupted our reading to make their visit to the King, which was a visit of etiquette. The princesses each put on an enormous hoop, over it a petticoat embroidered with gold ; then they tied round their waists a long train, and concealed the rest of their undress by a large black mantle which enveloped them to the chin. The gentlemen and maids of honor, the pages, the ushers, and the attendants, carrying large flambeaux, accompanied them. In a moment the palace, usually so still and solitary, was in a bustle. The King kissed each of the princesses on the forehead, and the visit was so short, that the reading was only interrupted a quarter of an hour.”

“ Mesdames,” says Madame Campan, “ when they entered their apartment, untied the strings of their petticoats and trains, resumed their embroidery, and I, my book.”

We may easily believe, that but little filial affection could grow out of this intercourse. In-

deed, the hard-working peasantry of France had not much to envy in the situation of these unfortunate princesses. They were fond of walking, but they were only allowed to walk in the public gardens of Versailles; they were fond of flowers, but they could only cultivate them in flower-pots at their windows. As long as their brother, the Dauphin, lived, they found a true friend in him, but only the memory of his and their mother's august example now remained to them. It is not wonderful, that Louise at last took refuge in the convent of the Carmelites, and that Victoire came to the conclusion, that the moralists were right, when they said, that "happiness never inhabited palaces." Modern examples, however, we trust, prove, and will continue to prove, that these sweeping maxims only apply to particular cases; that the palaces of France and England are inhabited by sovereigns, who are familiar with, and delight in, the active duties, the enlarged sympathies, and the domestic pleasures of life. He who once trod our shores a youthful exile, with undaunted hope and courage, creating in our land the warmest sympathy, has realized the fair promise of his youth, and, as monarch of his native land, is still claimed as the friend of Americans.



## CHAPTER XXXVI.

DEATH OF LOUIS THE FIFTEENTH, "*LE BIEN-  
AIMÉ.*"

It must not be supposed, that the Huguenots were forgotten, or their rights blended with those of the Catholics, during this reign. Though Louis the Fourteenth and his court had come to the decision, that there were no Protestants in France, yet still new laws were made against them, and new penalties constantly exacted, sufficiently proving, that this assertion was not believed.

The Regent, (Duke of Orleans,) whose dissipated life throws into obscurity the natural goodness of his heart and the real benevolence of his disposition, rejected all the instigations of Spain to renew the persecution, and, under his regency, the Huguenots found a temporary calm. At his death we have seen, that the Duke of Bourbon, in the name of Louis the Fifteenth, published an edict in 1724, containing the interdiction of even private worship, authorizing the taking their children from Protestant parents, awarding the punishment of death to the reformed preachers, and the

confiscation of their property to the *relapsed*, or, in other words, those who died without receiving the Catholic sacraments. Such an edict equalled, if it did not surpass, those which had been issued before. Cardinal Fleury, however, demonstrated a better temper; his mind, imbued with the spirit of Christianity, cultivated peace and good-will to all men. The nation, and even subsequent historians, attribute his conciliatory measures to indolence and timidity. We, of another age, ought to judge him differently. He proposed, that the Protestants should be placed under the civil protection of the government, that there might be no pretence for persecution. He wished two sorts of marriages to be authorized; the sacraments for the Catholics, and a simple benediction for the Protestants. In the midst of these benevolent plans, the minister died, and the zeal of persecution flourished, particularly in the provinces. During the reign of Louis the Fifteenth, three thousand persons were arrested, lawyers, physicians, artists, citizens, private gentlemen, and cultivators of the land, who, after a long captivity, only purchased their freedom by large sums. Persons were condemned to banishment, to stripes, to the galleys, and to death.

An instance is recorded of the execution of two young men, the elder only twenty-two years of age, for having endeavoured to rescue an

aged minister from the fangs of a ferocious multitude. Those who read the statements of Rulhières will perceive, that there was no amelioration in the treatment of the Huguenots during the reign of Louis the Fifteenth, after the death of Fleury. "At every step I take," said he, "in this long career of extravagant crimes, I feel how much reason Voltaire had to say, 'My pen falls from my hand, when I see how man can conduct to man.'"

One circumstance, however, marks the universal progress of intellect, which distinguishes this age. The ferocity of the law and the judges existed, after the feelings of the military, and even the lower classes, were ameliorated. The officers commissioned to execute the barbarous laws lingered in their march, to give the unhappy victims time to escape, and even sent them intimations, which enabled them to save themselves. All children born of Protestant parents, being by the laws declared illegitimate, were often in successive generations despoiled of their inheritance by a worthless informer. "I never shall forget," says M. de Malesherbes, "an instance, in which, one of these informers, who had gained a process, going to thank the judge, he replied, that it was well to decide according to the law, but that he rejected his gratitude with horror." There were even instances, in which the court preferred seeing their decisions set aside, to the humiliation

of having them confirmed, obeying morality in disobeying the law.

In 1744, a synod of Protestants was convened at Nismes, to regulate meetings for worship. Denied baptism and burial, with marriage ceremonies, they determined to hold their services in the open air. These were called, "*assemblées du desert.*" To avoid giving suspicion to the government, they went to these meetings wholly unarmed ; and, under the canopy of heaven, the new-born babe was baptized, the burial rites were performed, and the union of affection was sanctified by religion. Yet the *marriages of the desert*, as they were called, were afterwards termed *concubinage*,\* and the hereditary estates of their posterity were forfeited.

In the latter part of Louis the Fifteenth's reign, we hear less of the persecution of the Huguenots. To the indolent and disgraceful life of the King, and the constant disputes of the crown and Parliament, they were indebted for a species of *tolerance*, — a word almost as hateful, and quite as arbitrary, as persecution. Though the internal affairs of the court greatly occupied the King and his chosen friends, yet the constant opposition he received from the Parliament roused him at times to some degree of energy. The Parliament had a right to deny their sanction to the King's edicts, and consequently to the taxes. They had, also,

taken part with the Jansenists, and were opposed to the Jesuits. Their opposition, therefore, was stimulated by powerful motives. It was not, however, till the affair of the Duke d'Aguillon, the profligate foreign minister, that matters between the King and Parliament came to extremities.

In 1770, the Dauphin, (Louis the Sixteenth,) grandson of Louis the Fifteenth, was married to Marie Antoinette, daughter of Theresa, Queen of Austria. This event gave rise to new domestic cabals in the court. Her arrival in Paris was anxiously expected, and the courtiers were eager to discover, what degree of influence she would gain over the mind of the King. The first *fête* given to celebrate the nuptials at Versailles was a ball, at which Maria Theresa had requested that Mademoiselle de Lorraine, who was in the suite of the Dauphiness, should be permitted to dance. Louis consented ; but this favor excited the ill-will of the Court, as she was not a princess, and the ladies refused to appear ; and poor Mademoiselle, a descendant of the house of Lorraine, when the evening came, found herself in the ball-room with only two other ladies. The King sent a message to several of the nobility to appear, or take the consequences of his displeasure. The majority still refused ; but the young lady was permitted to dance among the royal group

that assembled.\* We can scarcely imagine any thing more illustrative, than this affair, of the petty quarrels and animosities of the French Court at that period. It was to society like this, that the Dauphin was to introduce his young bride. It is not strange, that he discovered but little sympathy with those around him, and drew upon himself the imputation of coldness and *hauteur*. The domestic details of their establishment are given by Madame Campan.

Previously to these events, the Duchess de Grammont, sister to the Duke de Choiseuil, had been dismissed by the King from the court ; a symptom of the declining power of the minister. The attacks, which the Duke d'Aguillon had suffered from the Parliament, and its finally refusing, notwithstanding the will of the King, to exculpate him, first induced Louis to banish the Parliament from Paris, and finally to abolish it. The Duke de Choiseuil was dismissed. The indignation of the Court, at the expulsion of Choiseuil, was openly demonstrated. His retreat resembled a triumphal departure, crowds attended him to his residence, and, while the apartments of Louis at Versailles contained only the *reigning favorite*, Madame du Barri, with Chancellor Maupeou,

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\* In the first volume of Grimm, second part, an amusing account is given of *le bal paré*.

D'Aguillon, and men like them, the exiled minister received almost royal honors. It must not be supposed these details are trifling ; they are symptoms of a change of constitution, which was already taking place in the moral world.

A *fête* was given, intended to celebrate the marriage of the Dauphin, but it was badly contrived. The place selected for the celebration was ill chosen, and no doubt was partly the cause of the disastrous termination. Though the weather was remarkably fine, the fire-works did not succeed ; but, by some mal-construction, fire was communicated to the wood-work, and an alarming conflagration took place. It may easily be conjectured how fatal the consequences must be among such a multitude. People were trampled under foot by horses, and involuntarily crushed each other ; the air resounded with groans and cries. The night which followed this tragical scene was employed in collecting the dead bodies and carrying them to a burial-place not far distant, where they might be recognised by friends and relatives. A newspaper of the day describes, in forcible and affecting language, this scene. The victims in their gala dresses, young girls ornamented with flowers, young men, who, the evening before, went gayly to the spot with the bloom of manhood on their cheeks, now cold and pallid, and scarcely to be recognised by their mangled bodies.

Madame la Dauphine, with her suite of ladies, arrived by the way of Versailles, just as the accident happened. On learning what had taken place, she immediately turned back, and two days after, she and the Dauphin sent a year's revenue for the relief of those, whom pecuniary assistance yet could aid.

Though a previous allusion has been made to the dissolution of the Parliament, it may not be amiss to enter more particularly into the matter. The King, in September, 1770, the year of the Dauphin's marriage, determined to hold a *bed of justice*, or, in other words, appear in person at the sitting of the Parliament, and protest against their proceedings. That he was stimulated to this step by the Duke d'Aguillon, Chancellor Maupeou, and Madame du Barri, there is the fullest evidence.

The place of meeting was in the Queen's antechamber. A temporary flooring was laid, and on it erected a throne with the royal insignia, probably to give as much dignity as possible to the occasion. The benches were covered with cloth embroidered with the *fleur de lis*.

An assembly extraordinary was called, and every member of Parliament repaired with punctuality to the palace. Louis, after bowing to them, ordered his chancellor, Maupeou, to explain his intentions.



The chancellor immediately read a paper previously prepared, accusing them of many acts of disobedience, particularly of persisting in their accusations against the Duke d'Aguillon on account of his administration in Brittany, although his sovereign had pronounced his conduct irreproachable. He also demanded, that certain papers should be given up. The whole of the protestation discovered too much vigor to be the sole work of the monarch. The Parliament surrendered the papers and listened in silence. The meeting was dissolved without any open expression of dissatisfaction.

This silence did not last long. When the particulars of the meeting were made known, all France was in tumult. The clamor was great against D'Aguillon, Maupeou, and the King, while Choiseuil, who was yet minister, became even more popular than ever. In proportion as that popularity increased, he grew more hateful to the opposite party, and, on the 24th of December, 1770, a *lettre de cachet* was sent to him from the King, exiling him to his estate at Chanteloup, where he was to remain in solitude.

The Duke immediately set out for Chanteloup, and a file of carriages attended him actually blocking up the road. After all, the triumph belonged to the Duke, and the King was openly censured and satirized. Every day he received petitions

for leave to visit the Duke, and the universal interest expressed actually enraged the monarch. The minister had possessed great credit at court, founded on four powerful auxiliaries, namely, the Parliament, the philosophers, the *literati*, and the women.

The total annihilation of the Parliament of Paris, it was foreseen, would follow the dismissal of the minister. The King had been led to believe, that his own authority and that of the magistracy could not exist together, and he was resolved to drive things to their utmost extremity. Assisted by M. de Maupeou, he determined not only to destroy the old Parliament, but to form a new one.

The unity of purpose the old Parliament had displayed, and the resolution they had taken not to act under present circumstances, filled the royal party with indignation, and the King gave Chancellor Maupeou a *carte blanche* to rid him of this refractory set. All the members were immediately ordered to quit Paris, sick or well. The magistrates silently obeyed.

It was now necessary to create a new Parliament, and this, too, the chancellor easily effected. A man who stops at no sentiments of honor or principle, who consults only the expediency of the present moment, may go on at least with temporary success. A new Parliament was appoint-

ed, not by degrees, but a whole body of men became at once the States-general ; men, it was said, not only of low birth, but ignorant and unmannerly. To give these the show of respectability, the King determined to preside at the first sitting, though the Princes of the blood, and most of the Peers, refused to be there. The Parliaments of the provinces were equally refractory, and drew upon themselves the same degree of vengeance. They were all annihilated, and a subordinate magistracy installed, subservient to the monarch and his favorites. It is remarkable, that this violent step, so offensive to the nation, produced so few immediate consequences on either side. Henry the Eighth would have become an absolute monarch at such a crisis, and vested all laws in himself. Louis the Thirteenth would have been imprisoned in his own palace, and the people have taken the reins of government ; but at this time no violent convulsions took place on either side ; the age was not ripe for revolution, and even the days of the *Fronde* were not renewed ; yet the prediction in the reign of Madame de Pompadour was nearly fulfilled. " A time will come, Sire, when the people will be enlightened ; and that time is probably near."

A revolution of opinion, of literature, had already arrived. D'Aguillon, who was the successor of Choiseuil, was an unprincipled, reckless

man ; the Chancellor de Maupeou, a parasite screening himself under the patronage of Louis and Madame du Barri. The age was deluged with new books and new opinions. What the "Télémaque" of Fenelon had begun, the assertion of the rights of man, during the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, and for which he had been exiled from Paris, Montesquieu and Voltaire had continued ; then came a host of philosophers, Diderot, D'Alembert, Duclos, Condillac, Helvetius, Rousseau, and others with less talent, who found their own level. The effect the *Encyclopédie* produced is well known, and also the efforts which were made to suppress it.

What Grimm calls *le bras spirituel* and *le bras séculier*, meaning the clergy and the Parliament, had in vain striven to check the torrent of books which threatened the destruction of religion. The Parliament had been defeated by the King, whose true policy would have been to conciliate them. Before the assembly of the clergy in 1770, a year most eventful in its consequences to France, the Pope wrote to Louis the Fifteenth, "the eldest son of the church, the Most Christian King, to entreat him, *par les entrailles de Jésus-Christ*," to preserve his kingdom from the pernicious inundation of heretical books. The clergy, at the instigation of his Holiness, presented at the foot of the throne a *mémoire* upon the melancholy

consequences of the freedom of the press. They also published, by permission of the King, notices upon the dangers of infidelity. Several infidel works were publicly burnt by the hands of the hangman, but such attempts only made the matter worse. The people began to *think* ; to discover the oppression of the clergy and nobility ; that “ they forsooth were not to be taxed,” while they were luxuriating on the hard-earned spoils of the lower classes ; that, while thousands were perishing by famine, and the treasury not only drained, but prodigious debts incurred, the King and his favorites were scattering diamonds and pearls among their parasites. In the preceding reigns, from the commencement of our history, we have found it difficult to select a true and just monarch. Henry the Fourth, in this respect, stands alone ; but we think the annals of France, or of scarcely any other country, present a monarch so totally debased as Louis the Fifteenth in his latter days. The faithful writer of his life, if such a one can be found, will sicken at his task, and the reader turn with loathing from the records. Miserable France ! more respectable in its sanguinary robes, dyed with the blood of the revolution, than basely sleeping in the poisonous and corrupted air of the court, and cowardly looking on, while the innocence and honor of the nearest ties were severed at the pleasure of the despoiler !

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Is it astonishing that every good and virtuous man rejoiced in the dawning symptoms of revolution? and that, even under the reign of Louis the Sixteenth, the world exulted at the enfranchisement of the nation? But the *world* was yet young in revolutions. America had successfully achieved the work, and now with blind enthusiasm encouraged her "great and noble ally" to go on. "*Ça ira*" resounded in the streets of every city of the New World, and it was not till the horrid tales of murder and *regicide* reached our shores, that we withdrew our sympathy.

We hear of the Viscount de Bombelles, in the Hussar regiment, attempting to annul his marriage with a Protestant lady, on the ground that all good Catholics were forbidden to intermarry with those of the reformed religion. A slight investigation brought before the public the dissipated character of the man and the wrongs of the wife. The public prints allude to the indignation excited on this occasion, which must lead us to suppose a great amelioration of feeling towards the Protestants. The Hussar was educated at the Military School; his comrades refused to associate with him, and, at length, he received a letter from the establishment prohibiting him from ever appearing there again. As he had a right, by the laws of France, to annul his marriage, contracted with a Protestant, we see

in this instance morality and justice pronouncing sentence upon the law.

It is said, that Louis the Fifteenth was applied to by the friends of justice, but refused to interfere, declaring the law must take its course, and that he "was not going to mingle in the broils of Catholics and Protestants ; his successor might issue new edicts against the reformed ; he loved his ease too well." Grimm mentions the affair among the scandalous circumstances of the year. The young officer, he says, married the lady, under the pretence of his being a Protestant, according to the reformed rites. She had a small, but independent fortune ; he possessed nothing. After having lived with her several years, and spent her patrimony in dissipation, he married another lady at Paris, according to the Catholic forms, and declared the former connexion to be concubinage. "To the eternal shame of France," says the Baron de Grimm, "the legislature supported him in this act, which, in any other country, would have conducted him either to the galleys or the scaffold." The marriage was declared null by a decree of the new Parliament, who also dared, without any restitution, and against all natural rights, to order that her little son, a child of five years old, should be torn from her arms to be educated in a convent. Grimm adds, that "the abstraction of the son has not been put in

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execution, because the mother will not voluntarily submit to it, and they are ashamed to employ violence against a victim already so ill-treated." The sequel of this affair ought not to be omitted. M. Vanrobais, a man of wealth and honorable character, a foreigner and Protestant, who had established manufactories of cloth in France, afterwards married Mademoiselle Camp, (the maiden name of Madame Bombelles,) securing to himself not only the free exercise of his religion, but even the liberty of having a chaplain and chapel.

Madame Vanrobais lived to thank Heaven for the separation of her's and her child's destiny from that of her infamous betrayer. Voltaire, who had done himself so much honor in the unhappy affair of the execution of Calas, seems to have been fearful of opposing the King, the Chancellor Maupeou, and the new Parliament, and of course drew upon himself the censure of the public, by vindicating the unrighteous law. He had by this time found it good policy to conciliate the favor of Madame du Barri by letters and verses, some of which the chroniclers of the time give us. But Louis was uniform in his dislike of Voltaire, and never could be prevailed on to patronize him.\*

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\* Louis said, justly, religion (meaning the Catholic dignitaries) and royalty were linked together, and Voltaire was the enemy of both.



We should not have lingered so long over this reign, had it not been so intimately connected with the revolution of France. But we quit it, for the pageant is passing away. He who had sat upon his throne like Sardanapalus, a loathsome excrescence upon the face of humanity, is no longer to offend our sight. Dare we venture into the splendid apartment at Versailles, decorated with costly furniture, hung with damask and gold, where the monarch lies on the bed of death? His room is no longer thronged with courtiers, for his case has been pronounced desperate, and his disease *contagious*! The obsequious crowd are not there, they already throng the doors of the Dauphin. The Archbishop of Paris, M. de Beaumont, hastens to Versailles. He is earnest that the King shall be informed of his situation, and receive *extreme unction*. All oppose him, and he is obliged to yield. The honest physician at length breaks through the restrictions, and the King learns from him, that his case is desperate! What a terrible moment! His past life rises in review; he implores absolution, — the holy rites of the Catholic church, — they are refused while Madame du Barri remains at Versailles. We might almost pity him, that he is compelled to send away, perhaps, the only friend who is willing to watch over him to the last; for what woman's heart fails on such an occasion! The only friend?

No ; nature is true to her laws. Behind the silken drapery, which flows round the royal couch, is placed a group of mourners. Here, at least, there is no affectation of grief ; we see the bended knee, the uplifted eye, the falling tear ; we hear the half-suppressed sob, the whispered prayer. These are the princesses, the daughters of the King, from whom his heart has been so long estranged. They come not now in their brocaded dresses of silver and gold, to receive the hurried and formal evening salutation ; they come to witness the last moments of a dying father, — to risk a contagious disease from which hirelings shrink.

The spirit is passing, — how dreadful the conflict of mind and body ! — It is over, and the scene closes in darkness and horror ! Thus ended the life of Louis the Fifteenth, who, thirty years before, when sick at Metz, had been surnamed *Le bien aimé* ! What a moral his life contains ! The King is *judged* by his subjects !

The disorder of Louis the Fifteenth was the small-pox, and of so contagious a nature, that it communicated itself to many who did not enter his apartment. The princesses, his daughters, were seized with it, but recovered from the disease.

It is, perhaps, but just to quote here the Baron de Grimm's notice of the death of Louis the

Fifteenth, in his "*Correspondance Littéraire, Philosophique, et Critique*," which may be said to form the mirror of the times.

"On Tuesday, March the 10th, 1744, Louis the Fifteenth yielded his last sigh. He preserved through the course of his malady a remarkable presence of mind, and, in the most extreme suffering, exhibited a truly heroic patience and courage. Let the people, rarely unjust, but often precipitate in their judgments, and yet oftener exaggerated in their complaints, reproach him with the weakness of his last years; posterity, more just, will admire in him the essential virtues of a great prince, clemency and goodness. . . . ." He concludes this attempt at a eulogy by saying that he merits the surname given him by the nation, *Le bien aimé*.

He then speaks of the mildness of his government, "so favorable to the progress of philosophy and letters." "To comprehend how dear his memory ought to be held, it is only to be recollected, that, under the beneficent shadow of his reign, flourished Montesquieu, Voltaire, Buffon, Rousseau, D'Alembert, Diderot, Crebillon," and other philosophers resembling them.

Those who read this attempt at eulogy in Grimm,\* may discover how hard it was, "en

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\* Grimm, Vol. III., Part II.

pleurant la perte que la France vient de faire," to eulogize the monarch. It is customary to describe the funeral obsequies, when the head of a nation is borne to his last home. Where is the mourning procession, that ought to follow *Le bien aimé*? What is the meaning of this coffin, borne so rapidly along? Surely, these are not mourners who line the streets. The jest, the laugh, the ill-suppressed rejoicings, are these tokens of sorrow? The roughest weep when a pet dog dies; and are no tears shed for a monarch? But let us hasten to St. Denis, the church of the kings. Here, at least, royalty will find itself at home. Here the descendants of Hugh Capet repose. It is midnight. We enter the vaults, dimly lighted; the leaden coffin is borne along, hastily thrown into the cemetery, and the doors closed upon it. Such was the funeral pomp of *Le bien aimé*.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH AND MARIE  
ANTOINETTE.

AT this crisis we cannot omit the mention of the new Queen. Her alliance with the Dauphin had been formed by the Duke de Choiseul, now the disgraced minister. A new parliament, a new minister, had succeeded the old. The French had always entertained a jealousy and distrust of Austria, and the daughter of Maria Theresa had all these prejudices to encounter.

On her arrival she was received with an enthusiastic welcome. To the unfortunate public *fête*, with the disasters of the fire-works, we have alluded ; also to the *bal-paré*, which, trifling as was that circumstance, led the nobility to suspect that the house of Austria meant to assume undue influence in the court of France.

Marie Antoinette possessed a natural gayety of heart ; beautiful as Burke describes her, she was, of course, at once surrounded by flatterers and parasites.

The marriages of the two younger brothers of

Louis the Sixteenth took place, the Count de Provence and the Count d'Artois, to the daughters of the King of Sardinia. These two alliances were the occasion of many splendid *fêtes*, and the young Queen, who retained, in the midst of royalty, her love of social intercourse, proposed their dining together except on public days. Hitherto the strictest etiquette and form had been preserved at court. It was the object of Marie Antoinette to introduce variety in their amusements; music, *le ballet*, and theatrical performances became the recreations of the nobility. The King was merely a spectator, and often rather an unwilling one, only yielding to the urgent solicitations of his bride, who was the life and soul of the entertainment. Once when she had finished a song, upon the stage, in the midst of the applauses which resounded, a low hissing was heard. The royal actress could not mistake the source, and, playfully courtesying to the audience, but fixing her eye upon Louis, she said, "If any are discontented with the performances, their money shall be returned to them." New bursts of applause followed, in which the King heartily joined.\* We can hardly imagine a more elegant and innocent life than the Queen seems at this period to have led. One of her great objects was

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\* *Lettres Domestiques.*

to perfect herself in the language of the nation, over which she was called to reign. For this purpose, the dramatic pieces selected were particularly designed. She took lessons in music and in drawing, and evidently sought to fill her leisure moments with employment.

Could she, at this period, have found faithful and judicious friends, how many more important pursuits might have mingled in her occupations, and differently shaped her future course! We find the Abbé de Vermond, who was commissioned by her mother, Maria Theresa, to be the guide and instructor of her youthful daughter (taken so early from her own watchful care), declining all serious instruction, because, forsooth, it was not to the taste of the young lady. In subjects of etiquette, though certainly as little to her taste, her instructors do not seem to have been deficient.

Versailles, where she resided, was thronged with spectators and admirers; but among them all she seems to have wanted *one true and judicious friend*.

"May God guide us and watch over us; we are too young to reign!" was the first exclamation made by Louis the Sixteenth and his Queen, when the death of the King was announced to them.

The enthusiasm of the French nation was

greatly excited by the new reign. The last part of the life of Louis the Fifteenth had inspired the utmost aversion to the monarch, even in a nation not remarkable for its morality. Cries of "*Vive le Roi! vive la Reine!*" lasted from morning to night.

The day that Louis the Sixteenth was proclaimed King, he wrote the following letter ;

"Monsieur le Contrôleur Général, je vous prie de faire distribuer deux cent mille livres aux pauvres des paroisses de Paris, pour prier pour le Roi. Si vous trouvez que ce soit trop cher pour les besoins de l'Etat, vous le retiendrez sur ma pension et sur celle de Madame la Dauphine.

"[Signé] LOUIS AUGUSTE."

Grimm says, "All Paris were enchanted and softened even to tears. The people found in this letter a great resemblance to the style of Henry the Fourth. There was the same expression of a living piety, and a paternal attention to the wants of his subjects."

We have abundant proof that no virtues flourish and grow abstractedly ; they are linked together in the human heart. When one is rooted out, others languish and die. Loyalty does not spring from momentary enthusiasm. Though Louis the Sixteenth was, at that moment, "*Le désiré,*"



there was but little consistent principle in the feelings of the nation.

The new Queen would have gladly appointed the Duke de Choiseul to his former office, but the King would not listen to the proposal, and M. de Maurepas was chosen. The Chancellor de Maupeou was exiled, and *leave of departure* granted to the Duke d'Aguiilon.

The princesses, who had been hitherto almost wholly confined to their apartments at Versailles, were nobly established in the Chateau de Bellevue, with arrangements suitable to their birth and station; and the Queen, who respected them, paid them every mark of regard and attention. Such was the exterior of the court at the beginning of the reign of Louis the Sixteenth.

And what at this time was the state of the Huguenots?

As late as 1744, a minister, M. Desubas, was seized by a party of Dragonists, while peacefully performing the duties of his office. The news was no sooner spread, than a large number collected, chiefly consisting of old men, women, and children, who entreated with tears and supplications for the release of their pastor. Instead of listening to their petitions, they fired upon them, and thirty, whose names are given in the original account, were slaughtered, and many others were badly wounded.

When this massacre became known, the young men seized their arms and hastened to his rescue. The minister, hearing of this proceeding, wrote to them in these terms ; — “ I beg you would retire ; the King’s troops are numerous, and too much blood has been already spilt. I am perfectly resigned to the will of Heaven.” Fortunately, a garrison was near ; and, when the higher officers heard the whole of the affair, they expressed their regret for what had happened, but said that such disorders were beyond their control, though they should do all in their power to prevent them. This alluded only to the massacre ; the pastor was still held in bondage.

In 1744, the national synod of the reformed churches assembled in the desert in lower Languedoc, and passed a number of resolutions. We insert the third article, as a specimen of the whole.

“ A petition shall be presented to the King in the name of all the Protestants in the kingdom, in which, after renewing the assurances of our loyalty and obedience, and briefly relating our deplorable circumstances, we will most humbly beseech his Majesty to have compassion on us, and order some mitigation of our sufferings ; and then conclude with ardent and sincere wishes in favor of his sacred person and august family, and for the glory and prosperity of his reign.”

The French court had strong apprehensions, in 1746, that the Protestants of Languedoc and other southern provinces would rise in arms. The following letter was written, in consequence, to the Intendant, by Paul Robaut, a Protestant minister, who was applied to, in order to know his sentiments on the subject.

“ My Lord,

“ When I devoted myself to the functions of a Protestant minister in this kingdom, I was not insensible of the danger to which I exposed myself ; and accordingly looked upon myself as a victim marked for death. No human motives could induce me to take up such an employment ; for, besides that there can be nothing more melancholy, in the opinion of the world, than the manner in which the ministers of the desert pass their time, life is the most valuable of all temporal enjoyments, and no advantages of this world can induce a rational being to make sacrifice of it. Being convinced, that the greatest service a man can do his neighbour is, to instruct him in the knowledge of his duty, and to engage him to the performance of it, I thought I should do the greatest good I was capable of, by devoting myself to the office of pastor. Ignorance is the death of the soul and the source of a multitude of crimes. The Protestants being debarred from the exer-

cise of their religion, believing that they cannot in conscience assist at the exercises of the Romish religion, and not being permitted to use books that are necessary for their instruction, I leave you, my Lord, to judge what would be their condition, if they were wholly destitute of teachers. They would be ignorant of the most essential duties of life, — they would fall into fanaticism, that fertile source of extravagance and disorder, or into indifference and a contempt of all religion. If menaces and severe usage should extort from them a profession of the national faith, it would only be the profession of hypocrites, who would inwardly detest their outward appearance. But could the government depend upon hypocrites and men without religion? Nay, what mischiefs might not be apprehended from them?

“Your Lordship is not insensible that the ministry of the pastor, in a great measure, obviates these evils and inconveniences. For my own part, I have labored chiefly with those committed to my care, after grounding them in the fundamental points of religion, to inculcate upon them the important duties of morality, and expressly the loyalty and obedience due to the King; and both in public and in private, in my sermons and in my prayers, I have showed my people how firmly I was persuaded of the indispensable necessity of this duty, and have taught them to practise

it by my own example ; convinced that I was not only contributing to their salvation, but to the good of the state.

“ Let not your Lordship harbour any suspicion at this juncture, that my conduct will alter in the least, or falsify the former part of my life. It is through inclination, as well as duty, that I have exhorted the Protestants to be loyal and obedient to our august monarch, in which I will persevere, especially on this occasion ; and I doubt not but my colleagues will do the same.

“ I only wait for the recovery of my health to put my hand to the work again. It is true that the Protestants have been great sufferers in various provinces of the kingdom, in their persons, their children, and their fortunes ; and this may be sufficient cause to fear that the exhortations of the pastors will not be altogether successful. But your Lordship must permit me to say, that no pains have been spared on our part to train them to submission, to patience, and a contempt of worldly enjoyments when they come in contact with duty ; that we have labored to convince them, that fidelity to the sovereign is a prime duty of our religion, and that none of us can excuse himself from the practice of it ; so that there is reason to hope they will not wholly shake it off. This I can affirm for truth, that if his Majesty would allow the Protestants the liberty of having

pastors, to celebrate their marriages, baptize their children, and perform the other ministerial offices of their religion, only in the desert, they would be ready to do all that men can do to demonstrate their gratitude and attachment to his person. Nay, I dare to say, that, were they to be employed in repelling the enemies of the state, they would fill the world with the fame of their exploits, and Louis would be no less charmed with their bravery, than Henry the Great was with that of their forefathers."

We should suppose that, after this period, a favorable change might have been wrought by letters so rational, so intelligent, and so manly, as this specimen. But such was not the case. The suffering and mortifications were continued to a much later date. There are innumerable proofs, much less striking, but scarcely less annoying, than the affair which we have before alluded to, of the marriage of Mademoiselle Camp. It may be difficult to ascertain the actual state of feeling at the time Louis the Sixteenth ascended the throne ; but a general view presents a melancholy perspective of the continued grievances of the Protestants, and the general state of France.

We behold the principles of a revolution sown, that attacked not merely the altars of the Catholic faith, but religion itself, in all its forms ; men who

not only said in their hearts, "there is no God," but wrote and published it ; an exhausted treasury, an annual deficit of twenty-five millions of livres ; a King that wanted a rational confidence in himself, and a Queen young, lovely, seeking for amusement and unskilled in the science of economy, regardless of etiquette, too openly discovering her aversions and partialities, and gradually gaining an ascendancy over the mind of the King, that alarmed the political cabal.

All connected with her became a source of suspicion and reprehension ; even the King's gift of little Trianon, where she amused herself by restoring the romances of Arcadia, and filling her apartments with shepherds and shepherdesses ; herself, in her simple white dress, with her straw hat and blue ribbon, the loveliest of the group. Then came the severe winter of 1776, forcibly recalling to the mind of the Queen the sleighing pleasures of Vienna. Strange that this amusement could excite censure ; and perhaps it might not, had it been quietly enjoyed. But on one fine sunny morning the Queen appeared, all radiant in beauty, in a *traineau*, "shaped like a flower basket, over which genii extended their protecting wings ; draperies of blue and gold lined the interior, and the whole was drawn by snow-white horses of matchless beauty ; the harnesses were composed

of blue velvet, the buckles and appurtenances of which were made of pure gold."

'Then followed the *traîneau* of the Count d'Artois, fashioned like a double shell, of rose color and silver, at the top of which was a majestic swan, that appeared borne along with outstretched wings, sailing on the wind. The music of the bells, the glancing splendor of the harness and housings, the superb bearing of the noble horses, rendered the sight a beautiful one.

The Parisians saw in this the Queen's predilection for the amusements of Austria; but, above all, they perceived, what indeed was obvious, that this splendid equipment must cost the nation money, and at this very moment thousands were famishing from want, and suffering for fuel and clothing.

In vain Louis distributed wood and grain among the suffering poor. The *traîneaux* gliding round the boulevards, and beginning their course from the Bastille, made a far greater impression on the minds of the spectators, than noiseless acts of charity, or the temporary relief afforded, in which the Queen readily joined.

One cause of complaint for the nation is too real to be omitted, — the love of play which took possession of the Court and extended itself to the Queen. Large sums were lost and gained; and, to be admitted to the royal saloon, the usual forms



were dispensed with. The apartment was very lofty, having a cupola ornamented with balconies and seats ; round these, ladies not presented were permitted to place themselves and *profit* by the example of their superiors.

From causes such as have been mentioned arose the first prejudices of the nation towards the Queen. We rejoice that it is not our self-prescribed office to follow the revolution through its scenes of bloodshed and horror. Much has been written on the subject, and will continue to be written, yet no investigation of the laws of the human mind can fully account for its frightful course. As well might we enter a hospital of the insane, and reason upon the conduct of the maniacs. The three privileged orders of the kingdom, that for centuries had held undisputed sway over the democracy, — the crown, the noblesse, and the clergy, — though often contending together, were always in agreement as to the expediency of depressing the people. These were now fast losing their individual power. The crown had ceased to be considered an object of homage, the nobility had lost their preponderance of wealth, and the clergy that spiritual supremacy, which denied the right of thought to a nation. How the people arose in their might, and what cruel vengeance fell on the heads of the innocent, has been elsewhere fully recorded. France has for centuries

been a castle set on a high hill, upon which the world has been gazing. When the revolution began, how many anticipated the happiest results, —how many beheld, in perspective, the towers and battlements, from which had waved feudal banners, thronged with enlightened, intelligent citizens, eager to repair the ravages made upon the edifice! How have the wise and good been disappointed!

It could not be expected that Louis the Sixteenth, brought up as he had been, by the Duke de la Vauguyon, to whose care his grandfather intrusted his education, should at once take any decisive steps in favor of the Protestants. It had been the object of the bigoted and ascetic Duke to keep the Dauphin free from all moral taint; and, in this view, he seems to have dreaded the tree of knowledge, and, in the fear of his gathering evil fruit, denied him the good. He was said to be ignorant of all polite learning, of history, and of the science of governing. The example of his grandfather, influenced by the sect of Jesuits, had always been pointed out to him as a model upon which he was to form himself. He pronounced at his *sacre* the oath "to exterminate the heretics," notwithstanding Turgot had urged and advised that it might be omitted.

Under any circumstances, however, we can hardly suppose that Louis, with his mild and be-

nevolent spirit, and his love of justice, could have become a persecutor. On the contrary, we see him gradually enlightened by the influence of more generous precepts. Some of the Catholic clergy talked loudly of *tolerance*, and some of the ladies of the court pronounced persecution to be in *bad taste*.

“Do not rely on those men,” says M. de Malesherbes, “who take to themselves merit from *arbitrary indulgence*; they would be extremely sorry to see the Protestants secured in their rights by the law.”

Turgot and Malesherbes did not withhold their judicious counsels on this subject, and the latter published two memorials, in 1785, in favor of the Protestants. Rulhières, about the same time, published his “*Eclaircissemens historiques sur les Causes de la Révocation de l’Edit de Nantes*.” This last is a work extremely useful, as giving, in a short compendium and in an agreeable manner, a sketch of the whole subject.

One voice at this epoch was added to the pleaders for Protestant rights, that had before thrilled to the hearts of a nation. The young, the brave, the noble La Fayette had returned from America, crowned with the laurels he had won. They were no sickly produce of an artificial soil; he had gathered them in our valleys and on our mountains, he had toiled for them

through the frosts of winter and the burning heat of summer. Animated and encouraged by his elder brother, Washington, whose name will ever form the glory of our country, the Marquis de la Fayette left the luxurious palaces and stately halls of his ancestors to espouse the cause of men struggling for freedom in the new world.

A letter from Madame du Deffand, addressed to Horace Walpole, in 1777, contains the following notice.

“Of all those who have taken their departure from here, the most astonishing is that of M. de la Fayette for America. You recollect meeting him when you dined with our ambassador. He is not twenty years of age, and carries with him six or ten of his friends. He confided his secret to the Viscomte de Noailles (his brother-in-law) alone, bought a vessel, equipped it, and embarked from Bordeaux.

“As soon as his connexions heard the intelligence, they hastened after him with all despatch, but arrived too late, — he had sailed just three hours before ! It is no doubt *une folie*, but does not disgrace him. He consulted a Mr. Hill, who resides with Franklin. This step indicates courage and a thirst for glory. He is praised more than he is blamed ; but his young wife, who is expecting an addition to her family, his father and mother, and all his friends, are in deep affliction.”

He did not ask permission of the King, for he was sure of being refused ; young, rich, married but a few months before to the daughter of the Duke de Noailles, one of the most beautiful and accomplished women in France, (who afterwards voluntarily shared his captivity at Olmutz,) we may easily imagine what a sensation this step excited.

In 1779 we find another notice in this celebrated lady's letters.

“ You have heard, without doubt, of the return of the Marquis de la Fayette from America. He arrived on Thursday, the 11th of February, at two o'clock at night, at Versailles, at the house of the Prince du Poix, who gave a ball that evening. He immediately retired to rest, and the next morning had a conversation with M. de Maurepas, which lasted two hours. After dinner he came to Paris. He has not seen the King, and has received orders to seclude himself from all but his connexions ; but these are nearly all the Court, — consequently he is in *visible concealment*.”

Again we hear his voice pleading the cause of liberty, — religious liberty, the most sacred of all rights, — that “ the Protestants may be permitted to marry and to die according to their faith.”

His remonstrances were not successful at that time. The clergy were alarmed, and exhorted

the King to preserve the barrier entire between the Catholic and the reformed faith, and preached with new zeal the necessity of but one religion in France, and the extermination of the heretics.

Though Lafayette dropped the subject for the time, we soon hear him pleading again for the heretics in the Assembly of the Notables. He was now more favorably listened to, and nobly seconded by the Bishop de Langres, afterwards Cardinal Luzerne. It cannot be uninteresting to those who have not seen the petition presented to the King, to find it here.

“ A portion of our citizens, who have not the happiness to profess the Catholic religion, find themselves condemned to a sort of civil death. The *Bureau* know too well the heart of the King not to be persuaded that his Majesty, desirous of making true religion dear to his subjects, over whom he is the common father, and knowing that the truth makes its own way by its own strength, and that error always finds it necessary to employ violence, will join the disposition of a benevolent tolerance to those virtues which merit the love of the nation. The *Bureau* hasten to present to his Majesty solicitations, that a numerous portion of his subjects may cease to groan under a proscription equally contrary to the general tenor of religion, to good manners, to population, to national

industry, and opposed to all moral and philosophical principles."

Who will not see in this spirited and independent address, that a new morning had arisen ? Let us for a moment imagine such a petition presented to Louis the Fourteenth. These attempts did not wholly fail ; an edict which secured "*l'état civil*" to the Protestants was registered.

By this act of justice the situation of the reformed party experienced a happy change ; yet they were incompletely protected, and still disturbed by fears for the future, increased by sad recollections of the past.

This step in favor of the Huguenots, imperfect as it was, excited the greatest sensation. The bigoted zealots pronounced the Bishop de Langres to be Antichrist, and Lafayette no better. We cannot but discern the good sense and judgment, which always marked Lafayette's character, in waiting for the right time before he again urged the subject which was near his heart as one of justice. He possessed the talent of adapting himself to expediency, of perceiving the best opening and the best means for success, and his resources and energies were always equal to the occasion. Perhaps this is the true cause of his success through life. The revolution, by enfranchising the Protestants with the rest of the

nation, could not fail of being welcomed by them as the era of liberty. The world, which was looking on at a distance, regarded it as emancipating a large class of men from feudal oppression, whose rights had for centuries been denied them.

The French nation were prepared to believe that the King had no divine authority. Fenelon and Massillon, the pious instructors of the Court, in the true spirit of religious justice, had diffused through the nation a conviction of the justice of their claims. Voltaire, Rousseau, and a host of philosophers, had prepared them to wrest by force what was unjustly withheld. The meeting of the National Assembly, and the decrees they abolished in August, 1789, show us how unjust and oppressive they were. A new order of things was established by this assembly, and the *revolution* in purpose accomplished.

With what joy the tidings were received in our country, files of newspapers can attest. How often "handbills," and "sheets extra," were issued from the press headed by the triumphs of "*Our great and good Allies*," in black and gigantic letters, many may yet remember. The sound came floating over the waters, and we rejoiced that the fair form of Liberty, who, like Guido's Aurora, had opened her hand and scattered flowers in our path, was hovering round the



splendid cities and vine-covered hills of beautiful France. We scarcely realized how much we of the New World were indebted to the noble steeds, that had borne her car in safety through clouds and tempests and the dark shadows of night. It remained for subsequent events to fully impress upon our minds all that we owed to Washington and the fathers of our country.

When that horrible period afterwards marked the course of the French revolution, in which blood poured down the streets like water, we do not find that the Protestants are mentioned among the perpetrators of cruel deeds. They, who had been the greatest sufferers from the government of France for ages past, do not appear to have partaken of this violent reaction. On the contrary, we find that, when the existence of a God was denied, they were among the first executed for adherence to religion.

A number of Protestant families, who had fled to Germany for the free exercise of their worship, returned after the privilege was granted of being placed under the protection of "*l'état civil*," in 1788. They returned, prosperous and happy, to breathe once more their native air ; they came crowned with the fruits of their industry, and forgot the wrongs they had suffered in the love they bore their country. Many of these fell victims to the guillotine during the "reign of terror."

The revolution not only involved royalty with the ecclesiastical and feudal tyranny with which it was entwined, but religion in all its forms.

Napoleon felt the policy of restoring the Catholic religion. He wanted the countenance and benediction of the Pope, which on these terms was easily granted, and he declared it to be the religion of the state, while toleration was extended to all others. The Reformed were allowed to assemble in synods, under positive conditions from the executive, whose permission it was necessary to gain. They were also required to submit the subjects intended for discussion to the Chancellor, and the meetings were prohibited from lasting beyond six days. It was likewise demanded that an officer of state should be present at the proceedings, to report them to government by a *procès-verbal*.

We comprehend from these regulations, that the system still continued to be one of *tolerance*.

In looking back to the earlier ages of Protestantism in France, we cannot but be surprised that it found so many proselytes under the austere principles of Calvin. The severity of his dogmas, the rigor of his discipline, the renunciation of those elegancies and accomplishments which embellish life, the authority exerted over domestic retirement, the spiritual gloom which pervaded the Genevese reformer, appear but little calcu-

lated to make converts among the nobility of France. Much that Luther gained by enthusiasm, Calvin accomplished by indefatigable activity, a commanding eloquence, a system well arranged, and the all-prevailing power of example.

Geneva early connected Protestantism and liberty together, because, being free and independent, she could open her arms to the persecuted martyrs of France and Italy. She became the refuge of the learned, and stood alone in the protection she afforded to the reformed party till the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, when Holland, and even America, as we have seen, shared her glory in giving an asylum to the Huguenots.

It has been generally conceded, that political motives influenced many of the Protestant chiefs. Yet we see Calvinism voluntarily and warmly embraced by noble individuals, to whom such motives cannot be ascribed, amidst all the luxuries of life, and the highest cultivation of the arts. During the reign of Catharine, who, however revolting may be her moral character, proved herself, by her taste in the fine arts and in belles-lettres, and by the encouragement she gave to architecture, to be a true descendant of Lorenzo de' Medici, we find distinguished converts to the reformed faith; we behold Jane d'Albret, Condé, Coligni, Chatillon, Castelneau, La Noué, and Mornay-Duplessis successively appear.

We have seen that the abjuration of Henry the Fourth was followed by a large part of the nobility, and those who remained firm lost one of the great incentives to active zeal, persecution ; nor can it be denied that the race of their great men had become nearly extinct ; and, though the reformed faith cheered many a heart, it no longer convulsed France. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes kindled the former spirit of constancy and endurance, but the expression of it was changed. Men no longer flew to arms, but sacrificed country, friends, wealth, and often life, in support of their faith.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

## CONCLUSION.

PERSECUTION cannot last for ever. Like all things human it wears itself out. After the dragonnades and the conversions of Louvois, after the edicts of Louis the Fifteenth, after the murder of the venerable Calas, and the execution of the Chevalier du Barre, after the intolerable cruelty of marriages annulled, and the odious injustice of depriving the descendants of their inheritance, we arrive at the period mentioned, in which the edict of 1787 was passed. "Protestants," to quote the language of La Fayette, "were permitted to become husbands and fathers, (*de naître et de mourir.*)"

We have now only to allude to the events which followed. In the sacrilege offered to the altars of God and the temples of worship, the reformed faith was trampled under foot with the Catholic ; but, when the churches were again thrown open, and the worship of the Most High was restored, then it became evident that public

opinion had made an advance, — those who before persecuted had been objects of persecution, and adversity, we may hope, had taught its true lesson. Mind had advanced, and man began to realize the rights of his fellow-man. The same protection which had been applied to the Catholic, was extended to other modes of worship. The Charter of Louis the Eighteenth, granted June 4th, 1814, contains these articles.

“ 5th. Every one may profess his religion with equal liberty, and obtain for his mode of worship equal protection.

“ 6th. In the mean time, the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman, is the religion of the State.

“ 7th. The ministers of the Catholic religion, and those of other Christian denominations, can receive payment from the public treasury *alone*.”

After Charles the Tenth ascended the throne, the law of sacrilege was passed, in 1825, punishing by death any open insults to the holy wafer, or to any utensils consecrated to the Church ; and also certain newspapers were prosecuted for libel.

All this was deemed a degree of bigotry far behind the age. The papers were *acquitted* notwithstanding the influence of government.

On the accession of Louis Philippe, the 9th

of August, 1830, the sixth article was suppressed.

The seventh article, which places the Protestant religion on the same footing as the Catholic, however liberal it may be, we must perceive is opposed to the spirit of the Protestant community. The happiest bond which exists between a pastor and his people is their mutual dependence. His wants are supplied by the voluntary contributions of the society whom he admonishes, counsels, and consoles. In small towns or villages there is something Apostolic in this state of things. The pastor is a son to the aged, a brother to his equals, and a father to the little flock of children who every Sunday gather round his desk. Often the smallness of his salary is a proof of his disinterestedness, and is proportioned by himself to the ability of his parish. How much this state of things must add to the intimacy and confidence of both parties, is easily perceived. That there are evils growing out of this arrangement, owing to the infirmities of human nature, is undoubtedly true. But as the advantages arise from mutual dependence, so the disadvantages take their origin from mutual *independence*.

There is nothing, however, which necessarily changes the relation between a minister and his people in a national provision. We know of no histories more beautiful and touching than those

of the pastors of the High Alps, such as Oberlin and Neff; the latter, residing at the village of Dormilleuse, built, like an eagle's nest, on the side of the mountain. During the reign of Francis the First, we remember the slaughter of the innocent Vaudois, and recollect that the few who remained took refuge among the mountains. It was the lot of Felix Neff to settle in the high region, in 1824, among the Alpine retreats of the French Protestants. His first visit to Dormilleuse awakens all our interest. It is thus described by his biographer.

“The rock on which Dormilleuse stands is almost inaccessible even in the fairest months of the year. There is but one approach to it, and this is always difficult from the rapidity of the ascent and slipperiness of the path in its narrowest part, occasioned by a cascade which throws itself over this path into the abyss below, forming a sheet of water between the face of the rock and the edge of the precipice. Perhaps, of all the habitable spots in Europe, this wretched village is the most repulsive. Nature is stern and terrible, without any boon but personal security from the fury of the oppressor.” And this was all the unhappy Protestants sought; a residence defended by a natural fortification of glaciers and rocks. Here, among the race of the Albigenes and an-



cient Waldenses, the faithful minister Neff determined to reside.\*

After the various persecutions they had endured, from Marcus Aurelius, in the second century, down to those of Louis the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth, we behold them by the Edict of Louis the Sixteenth, in 1786, at liberty to worship God according to their faith, — and in 1802 a new era for Protestantism began, by the Consular government of France. Neff was a native of Geneva and scarcely less remarkable than Calvin. We follow him with deep interest in his various labors, to the banks of the Romanche, one of the wildest mountain torrents in France, to the large hall in the Gothic castle of Lesdiguières, the former Protestant champion of the Huguenot cause, but who apostatized in his old age. Here we find Neff received by the modern possessor, and his then youthful voice speaking to the little flock around him in language more powerful than their mountain torrent. We hasten with him to the village of Dormilleuse, where he was to be established, and see him travelling on foot among the glaciers, through the snow, his feet protected by slips of woollen cloth, to the summit of the Col d'Orsière. We accompany him in his wan-

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\* These were not the Waldenses of Piedmont, but of Dauphiny.

derings among the Alpine hamlets. We return with him to his "eagle-nest," where he is settled on a salary, from the Continental Society, of £50 a year.\*

Here, among the grandest and sternest features of mountain scenery, the pastor "found food for his own religious contemplations, and felt that his whole soul was filled with the majesty of the ever-present God." . . . . "In this rugged field of rock and ice, the Alpine summit and its glittering pinnacles, the eternal snows and glaciers, the appalling clefts and abysses, the mighty cataract, the rushing waters, the frequent perils of avalanches and of tumbling rocks, the total absence of every soft feature of nature," he erected first a church and afterwards a school-house.

We have been led insensibly into this digression, by a desire to demonstrate that the usefulness of a pastor need not be diminished by the manner in which his wants are supplied.

The present state of Protestantism in France must be an interesting inquiry. We are told that there are three National Protestant churches in Paris, and one National German, where the

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\* A society in England for diffusing the Protestant religion on the Continent. He did not receive the government stipend. This account is taken from the interesting Memoir of Felix Neff and French Protestant papers.

Duchess of Orleans worships. These have six pastors. There are also one English Dissenting church, and six or eight churches for foreigners.

In reply to the question often asked, whether Protestantism is on the same footing as in our own country, the following answer is made by an intelligent American clergyman, who has had an opportunity of knowing, from his residence and professional labors in Paris.

“It is not on the same footing as in our own country in the following respects. Like all other established churches, the National Protestant Church is subject to the direction of mere politicians and statesmen, who interfere when they please in the appointment of pastors and the general contract of the church.”

“The Dissenting church has the restriction of being required to obtain permission of the magistrate of the city or village, (often Roman Catholic, and sometimes infidel,) to open a chapel or to hold a private religious meeting, when more than nineteen assemble. In efforts at extending religion, constant intolerance is manifested, which as yet the judicial decisions have not decided to be against the charter and its provisions and spirit.”

We see in these things an essential variation from the liberty permitted to Catholic missionaries among us, and we must realize, that it is dif-

ferent from our own religious liberty. We have no ecclesiastical establishments recognised and paid by government. With us a church is an affair of individuals, and supported by its own intelligence, activity, and purity of morals. If there is any essential virtue among us it exists in our religious relations. They are sincere, fervent, and generally tolerant, and without any connexion between them and government. This perhaps is the most striking, the most important feature of American liberty. Government endows our universities and hospitals, but it does not pay our ministers for preaching to the people. This is a separate affair, one of conscience, and derived from the great Missionary, who has said, "My kingdom is not of this world."

We have travelled, often with an aching heart, through this history, and have sometimes been tempted to throw aside the pen, and turn from scenes of blood and desolation. But we have persevered and are at length rewarded ; a bright morning opens upon us notwithstanding the few clouds which hover round. Much has been gained, and men of enlightened and liberal minds are bringing to the cause of religion and virtue the highest powers of intellect.

The Huguenots, when they came to this country, asked only the liberty of worshipping God after their own faith ; the right of cultivating the

land they purchased, and of teaching to the New World the best modes of agriculture, — of introducing new manufactures, and proving themselves good citizens and virtuous members of society. We can only hope that the Protestants in France may be endowed with the same spirit which, to the present day, makes the Huguenot ancestry eagerly claimed by their descendants, and their memory dear to a free nation.

## NOTE.

From the Memoir of Dr. Holmes relating to the Oxford Protestants, we quote the following epochs in the French history.

From their national synod in 1559 to St. Bartholomew's massacre, in 1572,	13 years.
From St. Bartholomew's massacre to the Edict of Nantes, in 1599,	27 “
From the Edict of Nantes to the Revocation, in 1685,	86 “
From the Revocation of the Edict to the commencement of the French Revolution, in 1789,	104 “
From the commencement of the French Revolution to 1826,	37 “

## APPENDIX.

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WE had finished the sketch of the Huguenots, and laid aside the pen, but an event has recently taken place which forms a natural connexion in the mind of the author with the close of the preceding work. We have illustrated the intimate relations which exist between a pastor and his people by the example of Neff in the high Alps. We have now the melancholy privilege of a more familiar illustration, and may speak of one who filled this relation with a zeal as pure and as fervent as the Swiss pastor. William Ellery Channing was ordained over the Federal-Street Church in Boston, in 1803. He had the offer of election between that and a much larger and more wealthy society. But he decided for the smaller one, and, during the early years of his ministry, and while he was the exclusive pastor, devoted himself to his people with a fervor, sincerity, and affection, which will never be forgotten by them. He often said, "I wish to identify myself with

my people," and it is well known how remarkable he was in that respect, when we view the conventional form of most sermons of that period. As the advocate of religious liberty and the right of opinion, he may rank with those who under far different circumstances endured suffering and exile for these inalienable rights. The spirit of reform has pervaded society, and few would now confine their ideas to doctrinal points. We have mentioned Cheverus, of the Catholic Church, as a moral reformer, and we may truly speak of Channing, of the Protestant Church, in the same connexion. His works on these subjects are too recent to require particular mention. It is pleasant, likewise, to the author of the preceding sketches, to connect his memory with a work of which he often expressed a desire for the accomplishment. Those who have heard him plead "for truth, for freedom, and mankind," will not, we trust, deem this tribute misplaced. But we approach the subject with solemn awe, for he, whose words have kindled the fire within us, now lies cold and motionless. We have seen him borne to his last home, wrapt in the deep slumber of the grave, and unconscious of the beautiful creation around him, though once so keenly alive to it.\* But the mind rests but a mo-

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\* His remains were deposited at Mount Auburn.

ment on present objects, though so illustrative of the scene ; the sun sinking behind the hills, the falling leaves of autumn, and the low sighing of the wind. We realize that he who communed with God on earth, who lived to serve him, who taught us the truths of immortal life, who drew his arguments "from the hand-writing of the Creator on the soul," assisted by the highest deductions of reason, and confirmed by the testimony of revelation, is now in the presence of the God whom he worshipped, of the Saviour in whom he trusted, surrounded by saints and angels, by the spirits of the departed, the aged whom he strengthened as they approached the dark valley of death, the young whom he guided and instructed, and the suffering whom he consoled and cheered, — all, all are before him.

How well his own language applies to him, those who knew him intimately will decide.

"In genuine piety, the mind chooses as its supreme good the moral excellence enjoined by its author, and resolutely renounces whatever would sully this divine image, and so disturb its communion with God. This religion, though its essence be not emotion, will gradually gather and issue in a sensibility, deeper, intenser, more glowing, than the blind enthusiast ever felt ; and then only does it manifest itself in its perfect form, when through a self-denying and self-purify-



ing power it rises to an overflowing love, gratitude, and joy towards the universal Father."

And thus have we seen him in familiar and domestic life, — even when enfeebled by sickness. Though his voice at times was faint and low, yet, when any great moral subject called forth his energy, his very soul spoke. We saw it in his eye, which drew its light from the divine fountain of truth. Words there were, and of the highest meaning, but sometimes so faintly uttered that we felt, rather than heard them. Who has not partaken of the devotion expressed by his uplifted eye, by the accent in which he pronounced the word "Father!" It was by this title he loved to address the Supreme Being, and he often referred to it as the most striking and touching illustration of divine love. It was the only word in his last aspirations that could be distinguished. On the bed of death, in the deep and secret exercises of his soul, the name of "Father" was again and again distinguished. How impressive the last scene! — his face turned to the light, and the beams of the setting sun irradiating his marble brow and resting upon his head like a glory; — the long silence which prevailed, not a word being uttered, as if the spirit still lingered with the beloved ones present.

Few have left as full evidence of their mind and character. The public will appreciate him

by his writings, and by his pure and holy life ; but those who have known him intimately, who have shared his offices of tender and endearing friendship, who have received his cordial greeting in the social circle, who, in the dark hour of human bereavement, have derived consolation from his sympathy, and strength from his religious views, who have witnessed the love he bore to all God's creation, — it is only those, who can appreciate the height and depth of his character. A few extracts from letters written to a friend in 1841 and 1842 cannot fail to be interesting.

“ Your account of Richmond (Virginia) was very interesting. You little suspected how many remembrances your letter was to awaken in me. I spent a year and a half there, and perhaps the most eventful of my life. I lived alone there, too poor to buy books, spending my days and nights in an outbuilding, with no one beneath my roof except during the hours of school-keeping. There I toiled as I have never done since, for gradually my constitution sunk under the unremitting exertion. With not a human being to whom I could communicate my deepest thoughts and feelings, and shrinking from common society, I passed through intellectual and moral conflicts, through excitements of heart and mind, so absorbing as often to banish sleep, and to destroy almost wholly the power of digestion. I was worn well-nigh

to a skeleton. Yet I look back on those days and nights of loneliness and frequent gloom with thankfulness. If I ever struggled with my whole soul for purity, truth, and goodness, it was there. There, amidst sore trials, the great question I trust was settled within me, whether I would obey the higher or lower principles of my nature, whether I would be the victim of passion, the world, or the free child and servant of God. It is an interesting recollection, that this great conflict was going on within me, and that my mind was then receiving its impulse towards the perfect, without a thought or suspicion of one person around me, as to what I was experiencing. And is not this the case continually? The greatest work on earth is going on near us, perhaps under our roof, and we know it not. In a licentious, inebrious city, one spirit, at least, was preparing, in silence and loneliness, to toil, not wholly in vain, for truth and holiness. And how often is this the case! And are we ever to despair, as if God's spirit were not at work in the human soul?" . . . . .

"We are spending a delightful summer (at Newport). We feel as if our cup was overflowing. Yet our joy is calm, peaceful, in harmony with this most tranquil scene, in the midst of which I write. I suppose you are at work, — *blessed work*. How privileged *we* are, who can carry

our tools (pen and paper) with us wherever we go, and can, even in a tavern, carry on our vocation !”

In a letter written from Lenox, where he passed his last summer, he writes :

“ I am as well as usual, and enjoy what I call health, the more for its interruption. You speak of yourself as an ‘ automaton.’ It is thus that the heart rests after painful excitement and deep sorrow. It is well for us that none of our emotions can retain uninterrupted vividness, and, especially, that the more vehement exhaust themselves. By this kind provision we are saved from being absorbed in a particular feeling, from shutting up the soul in a particular event. Our whole nature is brought into action. A false, sad notion has injured many, that we owe it to departed friends to die to those who remain, to die to our race, to feed on dark pictures of life, to reject the blessings which our kind Father has strewed in our path, because some have been taken from us. It ought to be the influence of bereavement, of the vanishing of loved ones from our sight, to give us more reverent and quickening conceptions of the spiritual nature of the undying soul, of that vast futurity through which our faculties and affections are to expand into a divine life and felicity ; and under this hope we should desire to enter on a nobler field of action now.

The departed have gone to see, to love, and serve the Infinite Father with a new fervor and elevation of spirit, and we should strive to sympathize with them, to be joined with them by participation of their progress. We are apt to feel as if nothing we could do on earth bears a relation to what the good are doing in a higher world ; but it is not so. Heaven and earth are not so far apart. Every disinterested act, every sacrifice to duty, every exertion for the good of "one of the least of Christ's brethren," every new insight into God's works, every new impulse given to the love of truth and goodness, associates us with the departed, brings us nearer to them, and is as truly heavenly as if we were acting, not on earth, but in heaven. These are common truths, but we do not feel them. The spiritual tie between us and the departed is not felt as it should be. Our union with them daily grows stronger, if we daily make progress in what they are growing in."

In another letter from Lenox he writes :

"Our letters have informed us of the removal of your venerated mother. We feel that the change was a blessing ; that it was time for the weary traveller to rest ; for the discipline of life, so unusually protracted, to end ; for the spirit to leave the body which had so long hung on it as a weight. What a change is death to one who has approached it through extreme old age ! How

hard it is to conceive of a friend, on whom the furrows have been deepening and the head whitening for so many years, laying aside all debility, all the infirmities of age, and entering a new existence of perpetual health, freshness, and, may we not say, youth ! I remember, when my grandfather died,\* at about ninety-four years old, the thought darted through my mind, 'How shall I know him without that gray head, those deep lines of time on his countenance ?' These seemed to enter almost into his identity. Yet our new senses will recognise our old friends with a quickness little comprehended now. To you this event, so much to be desired, is an affliction, a bereavement. How peculiar the relation of a mother ! She was our first friend, and from the hour of our birth, amidst all life's changes and the inconstancy of other loves, that faithful, tender heart never forsook us to its last throb. A parent's love is the best type of the immutableness of the divine."

In 1818 he wrote to a friend, who was on a visit at Rhinebeck, as follows :

"Please to present my respects to Dr. Quitman.† You wrote of his sermon on Diabolical

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\* William Ellery, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

† Frederick H. Quitman, D. D. He died a few years

Agency. I cannot dispose of the subject so easily as the Doctor. I should be glad to know that Satan does not exist, not for my own sake, but for his ; for the idea of such tremendous guilt and misery is uncomfortable. I cannot help sympathizing with Uncle Toby, who fetched a deep sigh when some orthodox divine described the torments of the Evil One. But the connexion of our world with the spiritual seems to me more extensive than many believe, and there are some passages in Scripture, not easily explained, which favor the idea, that evil as well as good beings of a higher order have some influence on human affairs. The common idea of the *extent* of his influence is monstrous. If Satan exists, he has no power which ought to fill us with dread. I do not, however, consider this subject as very important, and have therefore left my mind to

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after the date of this letter. This gentleman officiated in three Lutheran churches at Rhinebeck, N. Y., alternately. He came early from Germany, and was acquainted with distinguished men there, particularly with Zollikofer. His name is found in the collection of hymns for Evangelical Lutheran Churches. He was President of the Evangelical Lutheran Church Synod of the State of New York. Those who saw him will never forget him. To a large frame he united an energy which enabled him to command unlimited respect from the uncultivated, while the gentlemanly kindness of his manner won the affection of all classes.

waver upon it. The other subject discussed, — the explanation of the *temptation* as an allegory, — seems to me inconsistent with the simplicity and inartificial style of the evangelical historian.”

In writing of the indisposition of a friend he says : “ I have hitherto expressed only solicitude about the health of the body, but I need not add my earnest desire that a healing and purifying power may visit the mind. Indisposition seems to promise less of spiritual good when it has a tendency to take away the usual control over thought and feeling. But the character may be aided by remedies and a discipline which we should not have chosen for ourselves. Our souls are dearer to their Author than to ourselves ; and, by processes which we do not understand, he can awaken their power, touch their secret springs, give new sensibilities, weaken old habits and impressions, and recruit our moral and spiritual energy. We have only to trust, to be patient, to pray, and to do his will, according to our present light and strength, and the growth of the soul will go on. The plant grows in the mist and under clouds as truly as under sunshine. So does the heavenly principle within.”

“ I have not gained all the strength I hoped from country air, but am, on the whole, better. We are all to have our trials. I certainly ought not to complain of mine. I do sometimes, how-



ever, earnestly desire some addition of strength, that I may do something more before I leave the world. My head teems with plans, which I am compelled to resign to a stronger day. It is very possible, however, there is more ambition than benevolence in many of our projects of doing good, and it is well to use conscientiously and steadily the means we possess." 1813.

In writing from the spot where Dr. Channing usually spent his summers, his spirit seems to pervade every place.\* In yonder arbor, which

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\*Oakland, Rhode Island.

It was just at twilight when I passed by the little church at Portsmouth, R. I., where he sometimes addressed an audience who were collected to hear him. It is a simple building, neat and plain, and stands back from the road on the ridge which gradually slopes on each side to the two branches of Narragansett Bay. My memory reverted to a glad Sabbath morning in July, when the sun shed its beneficent beams on every object, giving its bright colors to the verdure around the church, "green to the very door," — to that morning when he addressed a congregation diversified by a few strangers from Newport. I remembered his holy fervor, his sublime aspirations, his solemn benediction which closed the worship. Now how cold, silent, and desolate looked the building! I passed on and entered the avenue, bordered by hedges, elms, and evergreens, which led to the mansion-house where I had been accustomed to see him. How beautiful the scene! The foliage with its gay and mingled hues, sobered by contrast with the dark and solemn evergreens, — the grass, yet

looks on Narragansett Bay, whose shores bound the horizon, he loved to seat himself and meditate. There words of consolation fell from his lips, for it was also the resort of a friend upon whom the bereavements of life pressed heavily. How much of that world now revealed to him was in those words which he uttered ! It was his happy gift, first to soften the heart, preparing it for pure and elevating impressions, and then to pour in, without measure, the high truths and hopes of heaven. Faith grew by his teaching like the willow by the water's side. The distance between the seen and the unseen seemed to vanish ; while he spoke, we felt as if he had gained the opposite shore and held out his hand to encourage us onward. The dark and mysterious river separating us from the future existence no longer seemed fearful. It was not that he represented the other world as a paradise of unmixed enjoyment ; he dwelt much more upon the holiness of heaven, the service of God, the freedom from human sin and infirmity, the enlarged expansion of the faculties. He did not merely say, You will recover the dear

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verdant, strewed with the yellow leaves of Autumn, — the sun throwing the long shadows of the aged trunks across the paths, — the house, in keeping with all around it, still wearing the venerable aspect of other days. I could well understand why he lingered on the spot long after the leaf was in the sere.

ones you have lost; for that he considered but a small part of the joy of heaven. But he spoke of dwelling with them for evermore in the presence of God, and holding "a communion with them, marred by no passion, chilled by no reserve, depressed by no consciousness of sin, trustful as childhood," and overflowing with love to the Universal Father.

He seldom spoke severely of human faults, and always more in pity than in anger. Yet it must be confessed, that he earnestly wished that the tone of society might be raised. "What is common intercourse made up of," he wrote to a friend, "but rash judgment, unwarrantable censures, and the circulation of harsh opinions? So far the spirit of society is to be abhorred; but are we to give up all infected with it? As the Apostle says, we must then needs go out of the world."

Of spiritual progress he wrote: "I am never surprised to hear of misgivings, doubts, or self-distrust, the great trial of life to many; and, at the same time, one of the grand signs of our destiny is, that our conception of virtue, holiness, outstrips our powers of immediate attainment. The very improvement of our moral sense becomes a source of fear, our very progress in goodness, by opening new spheres of duty, may sometimes discourage us. Humility always grows with virtue, with increasing knowledge of God. I have but

one great trial of life, and that is, the disproportion between my idea of duty and my practice. Our fear from this source is in part unreasonable. Our idea of the perfect, the holy, is not to be our standard of self-judgment any farther than we have power to realize it. Perfection is revealed to us not to torture us from our falling short of it, but to be a kindling, imposing object, to be seized by faith as our certain destiny, if we are faithful to the light and strength now given.

“ We are not to repine or fear, because in our childhood we want maturity of wisdom or strength, —but we are to be animated by the thought of what we may become. Still, after making all allowances, we must suffer from self-rebuke. Our own hearts often condemn us. Our pure, spiritual resolves, how often they fail us! But we must never despair. The consciousness of error is encouraging, —it shows a measure of moral life in us.

“ Self-rebuke is God’s voice, his call to new effort, his promise of aid. It is to me a most sustaining idea, that I am always guarded by God, and shall receive more and more aid in proportion as I am receptive of it. When the sight or voice of a friend stirs up my spirit, when nature touches and elevates my heart, when a word from some inspired author reaches the depth of my moral nature, when disappointment corrects and purifies

my views of life, &c., on all these occasions, I feel that God speaks to me. I see in them pledges of his earnest parental desire for my redemption. I see in them the workings of Omnipotence for my good, the breathings of his spirit, confirmation of its precious promises, that heavenly aid is most freely given to human weakness. I am strong only in my consciousness of union with God."

It might be worth inquiry in what degree meditation contributed towards forming the character of Dr. Channing; of its spiritual result we can have but little doubt, but how much of practical knowledge he derived from it is an interesting question. He who created the spirit of man, shall he not teach him inspiration? What we term genius, seemed in him a power derived from the eternal fountain of truth and light.

The line which he drew between meditation and reverie was striking. "Reverie," said he, "was once the hectic of my life, — meditation has been the life of my soul." He laid the greatest stress on its influence. Once, when riding with a friend, he pointed to a wood near Cambridge, where he used to pass hours alone. — "It was in the silence and stillness of that spot," said he, "that I first laid the foundation of what has been useful in my life." That wood has since fallen beneath the axe of the husbandman;

but the high purposes, the noble resolutions, it nurtured in his soul, will long outlive the frail term of human existence.

No one had a fuller sense of the actual deficiency of human character, and none a more ardent and entire trust in its redemption. He believed the power of Christianity all-sufficient for its purification ; he believed that all we need, to become conquerors over sin, is to drink deep of the spirit of the Teacher. Of man's capacity for good he never doubted, for he saw God in every human being.\* It was inspiring to watch the kindling of his countenance, as he spoke on these subjects. His was a hopeful spirit, and truly a cheerful one. He believed that the smallest effort for removing evil effected something. When any one spoke despairingly of his own attempts, he would earnestly reply, " They *have* done good."

Many felt restraint in his presence from an unconscious desire of appearing better or wiser than they actually were. But those, who were in familiar intercourse with him, lost this feeling ; for they saw that he was the most candid and indulgent of human beings.

Few converted *silence* into so expressive, and, at the same time, so active an agent as he did. It required moral firmness to practise this method of repelling exaggerated praise or censure. But

it was still more striking when he came into communion with the deep-stricken mourner. He offered no common-place words of consolation ; his was a sympathy too intense for utterance.

Notwithstanding his ill health and habitual feebleness of constitution, there was in him an undying spring of youth. His mind was always in fresh vigor. He never took age into his account, or seemed to think of it for others. "I do not grow old to myself," said he, with a smile ; "I always look as I used to do."

His perfect sincerity was understood by every one who associated with him. The testimony of a lady to his character, who belongs to the society of Friends, is very striking, and was given nineteen years since.

"Dost thee know William Ellery Channing of Boston ?" said she.

"Very well ; he is my minister."

"I have not seen him for many years," she replied. "When very young he went to school to my father, who taught reading, writing, and arithmetic at Newport. William Channing had a brave heart ; he was as fearless for the truth as Washington. He settled all the differences in school, and usually went by the name of the *peace-maker*. He always took the part of the oppressed. Some of the larger boys, who felt the influence he exerted over them, without un-

derstanding that it was a moral power, called him, 'Little King Pepin'; and by these two names he was designated in school."\*

"Was he very grave?"

"If thee would ask whether he was thoughtful, I should say, Yes, to thy question. For, though he was cheerful and pleasant, his mother used to say, 'William is our minister.'" It could not be said in reference to him, as is said by the *Preacher*, "Childhood and youth are vanity."

To these familiar, and, we think, interesting, recollections, we add a circumstance mentioned to us by a gentleman of high authority.

Mr. J., who, some time since, was at the head of a boarding-house, had in his family a colored servant girl. She became very ill, and was visited by injudicious and zealous persons, who wrought her mind into a state of terror and agony at the prospect of death. Mr. J. humanely requested the Reverend Mr. Channing, then a young man, to visit her. He accordingly did so, and by his conversation and devotional exercises produced the happiest results, and she died in Christian faith and peace. "Had she been a princess," said Mr. J., "he could not have demonstrated more interest in her welfare."

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\* It will be remembered that this brave monarch of France was surnamed 'the Small.'



These anecdotes are important only as showing the germ of the future man.

He usually passed his summers at this retreat, (Oakland). It was every way congenial to his taste. The strifes and contention of the busy world were far distant, and he seldom changed the scene except for one, that, from its sublimity, awakened his soul to new aspirations, — the beautiful beach of his native island. He loved to contemplate it in the bright sunshine of morning, in the twilight of evening, and amidst darkness and storms.

“Often,” said he, “I have stood on the rocks and seen the mysterious waters roll by, and, when the wind blew high and the waves lifted up their voices, I felt strong in their might.”

At another time he said, “I love to contend with the wind; and even now, when I am walking in the country, and feel its exhilaration, I am tempted to run and leap as when I was a boy.”

He often stayed in this retreat till the autumn was far advanced. The inducement was great, for it is one that seems to be exempted from early change, — the foliage, though variegated, remains long on the trees, and forms a beautiful contrast with the verdure of the numerous evergreens. Here, amidst the falling leaves and mellow tints of autumn, he often laid down his pen, and re-

paired to the woodlands and winding paths, and returned invigorated by his walk.

In 1839 he wrote to a friend from this place :

“ The summer has left us after having shed on us very many blessings. Without thought or labor I have been strong enough to enjoy ; — I feel daily that it is a privilege to live in such a world. Unhappily, society has dark spots, deep woes, and we have no right to forget them in our seclusion. I do not forget them. The thought of them often throws a shade over this beautiful nature. What would I not give, I am sometimes ready to say, for greater powers to improve and serve my fellow-creatures ? But is it not wiser to use well what we have, than to sigh for more ? ”

He determined to pass the last summer in the midst of mountain scenery. His address delivered at Lenox expresses his enjoyment there.

From a letter he wrote a few weeks before his death, we quote the following passage, which seems to have been written with a prophetic spirit.

“ We are very agreeably established at Lenox for a time. Come and see us. We have a parlour to ourselves, in which you shall have a share. We are breathing mountain air, living in mountain scenery, and have delightful society near us. In truth our cup seems too full when we look at the common lot, — but it must soon pass away. ”

One of his friends has said, "We shall miss him more in our prayers than our pleasures." But where and when shall we not miss him? We shall miss his cordial reception, the warm pressure of his hand, his voice so rich and musical, the light of his deep-meaning eye. We shall miss the perfect politeness and courtesy of his manner, his habitual attention to the wants and habits of his friends, — and we shall miss him too in our prayers, — for never did more sincere or holier aspirations than his ascend from the domestic altar.

*Oakland, R. I., November, 1842.*

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#### NOTE.

William Ellery Channing was born at Newport, Rhode Island, in 1780 ; graduated at Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1798 ; was ordained over the Federal-Street Church in Boston, June 1st, 1803 ; died at Bennington, Vermont, on a journey, in 1842.

LIST OF THE NAMES  
OF  
HUGUENOT FAMILIES IN AMERICA.

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THE names of the French settlers who came to Boston are probably many of them lost. Some settled in Maine, of whom we have but few records. The spelling of the French names is often imperfectly preserved, and the number probably very incomplete; but we give them as they have come to our knowledge, without knowing precisely where they settled in many instances. Many of them, however, took up their abode in New York and Rhode Island.

Arnault.	Depau.
Ayrault.	Du Tuffeau.
Babut, elder of Mr.	Faneuil.
Daillé's church.	Fontaine.
Ballaguiet.	Freneau.
Baudouin, now written	Ganeaux. <i>GALLAUDET</i>
Bowdwin, or Bowdoin.	Gaziellien. <i>Gambault</i>
Bethune.	Grignon.
Bernon, Gabriel.	Jaques, corrupted to Ja-
Boudinot.	conaise, or James.
Cazneau.	Jay.
Charden, elder of Mr.	Jermon.
Daillé's church.	Johonnett.
Daillé, minister of the	Le Maine, corrupted to
first French Protestant	Mauney.
church in Boston.	Le Mercier.

Lucas.	Robineau.
Maury.	Sauvages.
Montier.	Sigourney.
Mousset, elder of Mr. Daillé's church.	Tabaux, changed to Tarbox.
Neau, Elias.	Tourgee.
Packenett.	Tourette.
Pintard.	Tourtellot, Gabriel, came out with Gabriel Ber-
Quereaut, changed to Caron.	non.
Railing, fourth elder of Mr. Daillé's church.	

From a list discovered in a parcel of old papers, which belonged to Henry de St. Julien, of St. John's, Berkeley, we extract names of the Huguenots who settled at the South. The list was published in the "Southern Intelligencer," some years ago, with the names of the wives and descendants, and was supposed to have accompanied an application for naturalization.

Elias Prioleau, minister.	Jaques Du Bose.
Laurent Philip Trouillart, minister.	Philippe Norman.
Jaques Boyd.	Pierre Collin.
Paul Bruneau.	Pierre Poinset.
Jacques Le Serurier.	Pierre Bacot.
Pierre de St. Julien.	Noe Royer.
Daniel Huger.	Jaques Nicolas.
Isaac Caillabeuf.	Pierre Le Chevalier.
Pierre La Salle.	Paul Pepin.
François de Rousserie.	Mathurin Guerin.
Pierre Buret.	Jacques Gallopin.
Daniel Bonnel.	Charles Fromaget.
Jonas Bonhoste.	Noe Sere.
	Jean Lebert.

Isaac Baton.	Daniel Durougeaux.
Daniel Jouet.	Louis Pasquereaux.
Louis Thibout.	Auguste Memin.
Jaques Marseau.	Abraham Lesueur.
Gabriel Ribouteau.	Anthoine Boureau.
Jacques de Dourdeaux.	Henry Peronneau.
Jean Girardeau.	Anthoine Cardes.
Etienne Taurron.	Pierre Girard.
Jaques Lardan.	Samuel Du Bourdieu.
Jean Heraud.	Ellye Bisset.
Moyse Le Brun.	Jean Pecontet.
Isaac Mazyck.	Jérémie Cothonneau.
Jean Thomas.	Germain Pierre.

## LIST OF SETTLERS AT SANTÉE.

François de Rousserye.	Pierre Manigault,	} broth- ers.
Pierre Gaillard.	Gabriel Manigault,	
Jean François Gignilliat.	Pierre Michaud.	
Jaques Le Bas.	Daniel Jodon.	
Marie Fougernaut, widow of Moyse Brigaud.	Jean Pierre Pele.	
Pierre Couillandean.	Jean Prou.	
Jean Potett.	Nicholas Lenud.	
Jean Gendron.	Daniel Le Gendre.	
Pierre Guerri.	Etienne T'ampie.	
Isaac Dubose.	Louis Dutarque.	
Jean Gulbat.	Anthoine Poiteuns.	
Joachim Gaillard.	George Juing.	
Jaques Boyd.	Nicholas Bochet.	
Pierre Robert, <u>M. D.</u>	Pierre Videaut.	
Paul Bruneau.	Jaques Benoit.	
André Rember.	Isaac Fleury.	
Réné Ravenel.	François Gurrain.	
Henry Auguste Chata- gner.	Jean Boisseau.	
Daniel Seneschaud.	Jean Berteaud.	
Isaac Legrand.	Ellye Herry.	
	Isaac Percher.	
	Claude Carron.	

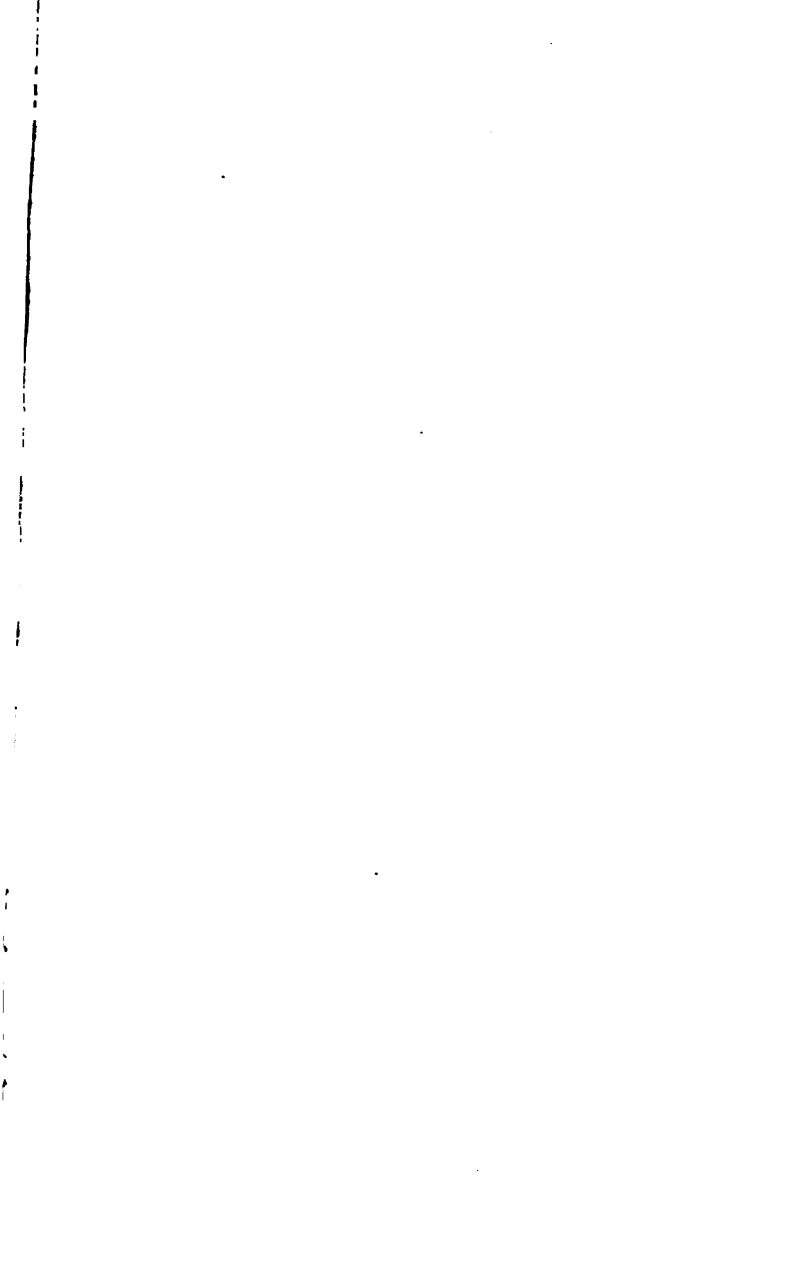
Pierre Mounier.	Daniel Garnier.
Nicholas de Longmare.	Louis de St. Julien.
Jean Carrier.	Honore Michaud.
Louis Gourdain.	Maisse Carion.
Benjamin Marion.	Estienne Tample.

To these names we add the following, which Dr. Ramsay records as the heads of respectable families who came to Carolina.

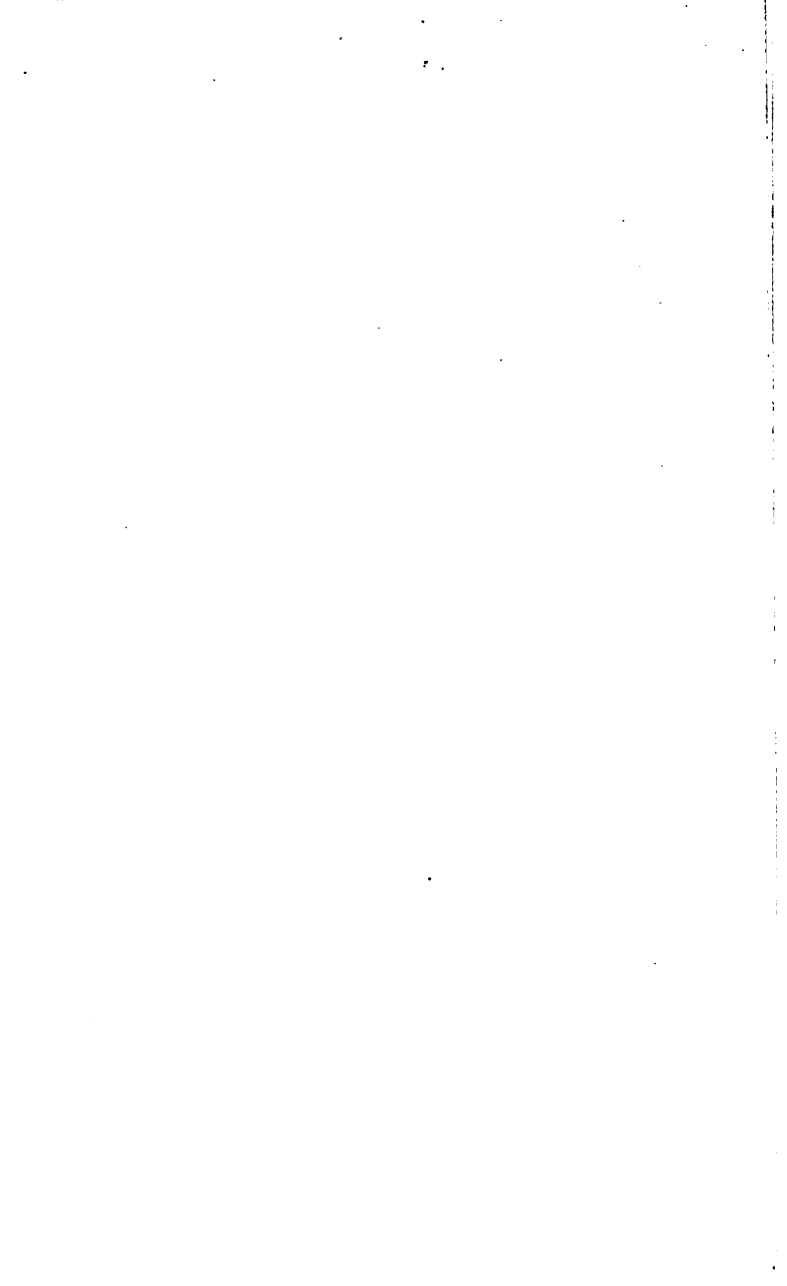
Bonneau.	Faucheraud.
Bonnetheau.	Foissin.
Bordeaux.	Ravenel.
Bocquet.	Sarazin.
Deveaux.	Girardeau.
Dupre.	Guerard.
Delysle.	Horry.
Peyre.	Jeanerette.
Poyas.	La Roche.
De la Consiliere.	Mellichamp.
De Leiseline.	Mouzen.
Doux saint.	Neufville.
Du Pont.	Royer.
Du Bourdieu.	Treizevent.
D'Harriette.	Legaré.

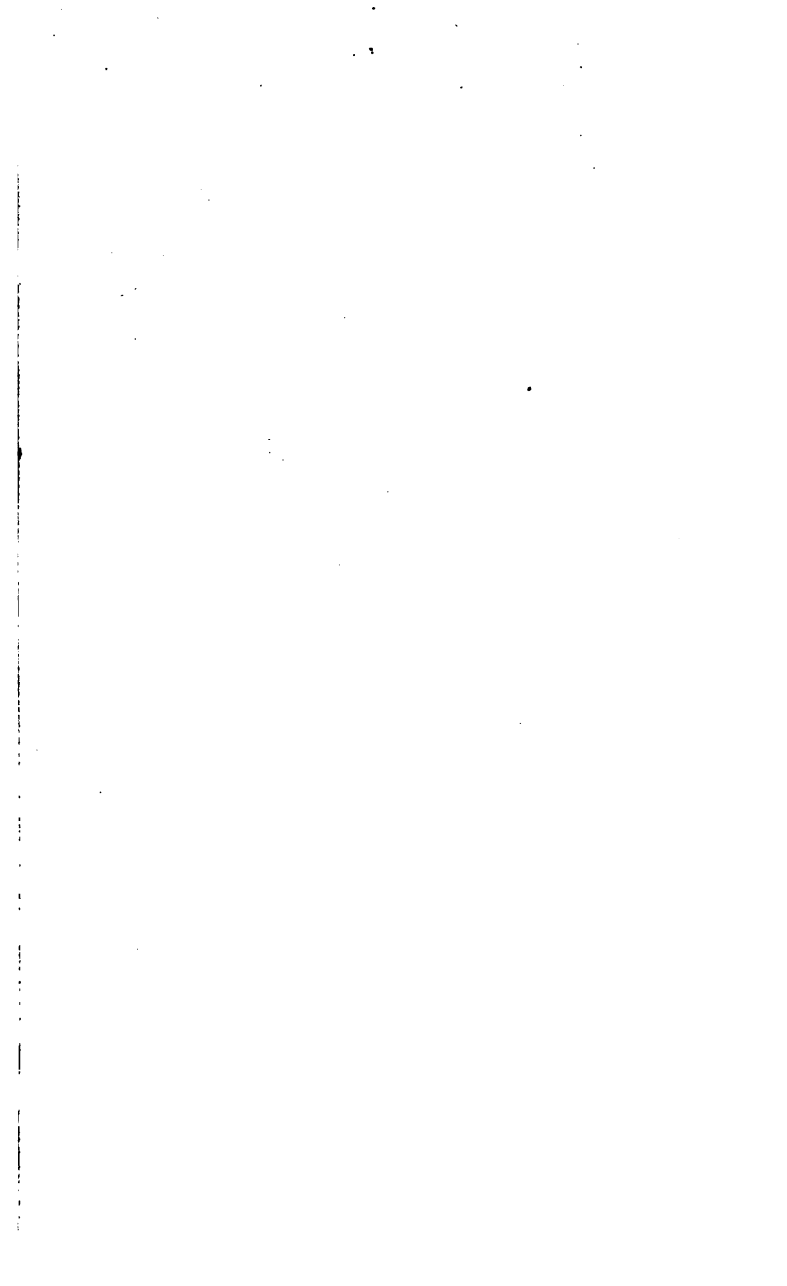
An interesting relic, a Bible, — brought by Dr. Delhonde, a friend of Mr. Sigourney, who was one of the settlers in Boston, — is now in the possession of Mrs. James King of Salem.

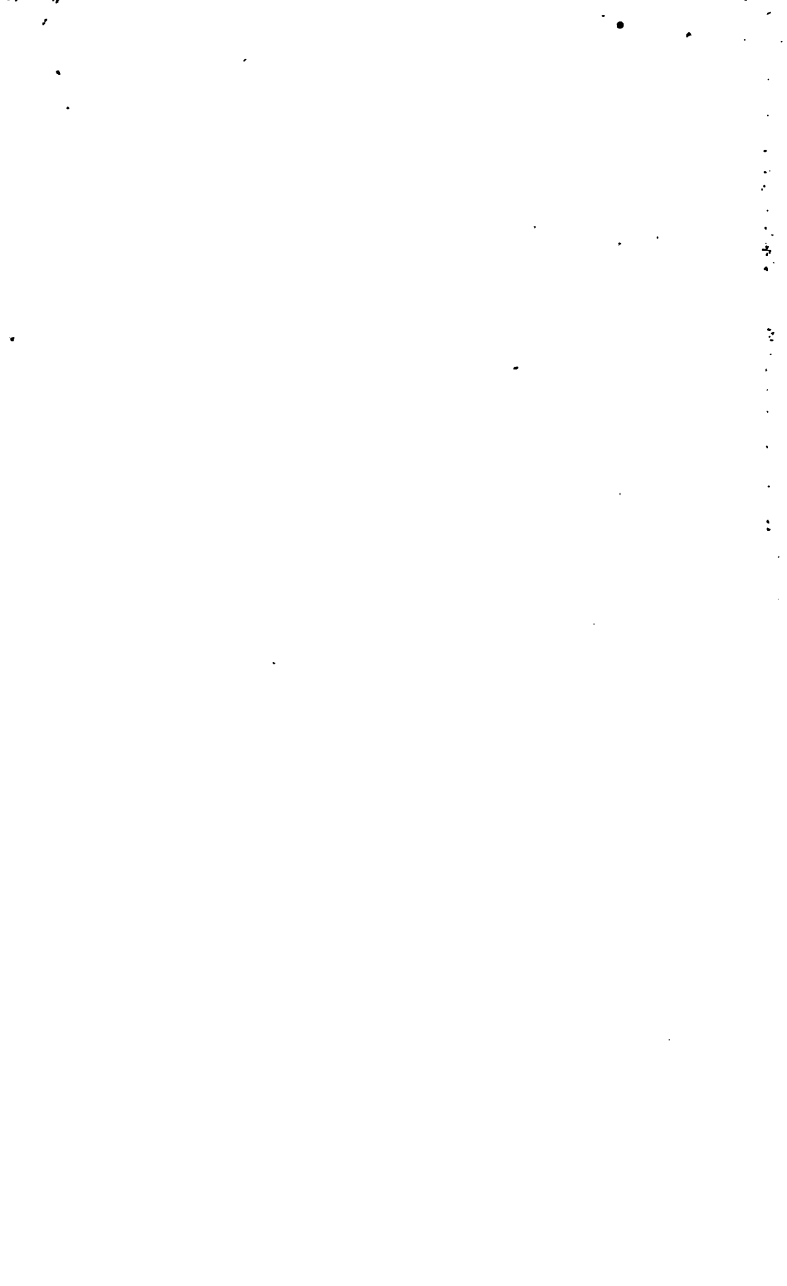
THE END.











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